'Oh, give me liberty!
For were even Paradise my prison,
Still I would long to leap the crystal walls.'

DRYDEN.

'A happy bit hame this auld warld wad be,
If men, whan they're here, would make shift to agree,
And ilk said to his neebor in cottage an' ha',
'Come, gie me your hand, we are bretliren a'.''

ROBERT NICOL.

'THE INQUIRING MIND WEARIES NOT IN THE PURSUIT OF KNOWLEDGE.'

ANTONIO PEREZ. (*Translation.*)

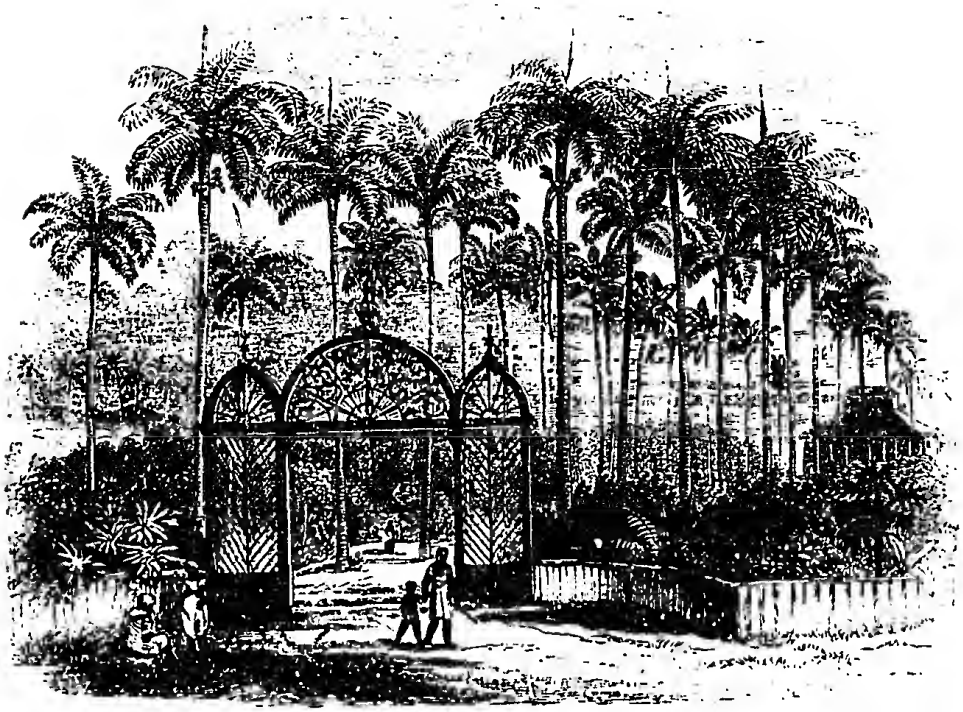
# LANDS OF THE

# SLAVE AND THE FREE:

OR,

## CUBA, THE UNITED STATES, AND CANADA.

BY THE HON. HENRY A. MURRAY.



Coffee Plantation, Cuba.

THE SECOND VOLUME.

LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER AND SON, WEST STRAND.
1855.

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(To be read with the Chapter on the Constitution of the Unite States, vol. ii. p. 264.)

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A great portion of the ground adjoining is now given up to agricultural experimental purposes.

HUDSON RIVER STEAMER, 1200 TONS . . . . . 330

The dimensions are :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Length . . . . | 325 feet | Width of cylinder . | 5 ft. 10 in. |
| Breadth . . . . | 38 ,, | Length of stroke . | 14 feet |
| Depth of hold . . | 11 ,, | Diameter of wheel . | 40 ,, |

## POSTSCRIPT.

(*To be read with the Chapter on the Constitution of the United States*, vol. ii. p. 264.)

SINCE the text passed through the press, I have, thanks to the kindness of some of my American friends, ascertained that the salaries of the Cabinet and of the Attorney-General now amount to £1680 a-year. The salary of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court has also been raised. I take this opportunity of supplying further information respecting the constitution of the United States, for the omission of which I have nothing to offer except an apology. First, I should have mentioned, at page 267 of this volume, that each individual State has its own Governor, House of Representatives, Senate, and Judiciary, and that the representatives sent to Congress at Washington are elected by the same body that return the representatives of the several States. The senators at Washington are elected by the Legislatures of the individual States.

Secondly, in speaking of the Supreme Court, I should have explained that, while it has power of declaring null and void any acts of individual States,

or even of the Federal Government at Washington, if such acts are contrary to the Constitution, there is an article in the Constitution itself regulating the terms upon which alone any change may be made, and which is of so peculiar and conservative a character that I insert it in full:—

'ARTICLE V.—*Power of Amendment.*

'The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article, and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.'

The foregoing article is a remarkable instance of prudence and forethought, and acts as the strongest safeguard against hasty measures, which in times of great excitement may sometimes obtain a majority that would afterwards be regretted by all parties. If the principle involved in any question is really felt to

be of vital importance, the majority can dissolve the Union if they consider the object in view worth the sacrifice.

The reader will find an error in the map, and also in page 227, vol. ii., in both of which Nebraska is put down as a slave State; such is not the case. In the winter of 1853 the General Government established a territorial administration in Nebraska and Kansas (which latter embraces the Indian territory), and at the same time they repealed the Missouri compromise (which prohibited the introduction of slavery north of the 36° 30′ parallel of latitude), leaving it optional with the inhabitants to establish slavery. The interests of Nebraska and all other territories are watched over at Washington by delegates in the House of Representatives, who have a seat, but no vote. This sensible arrangement might, in my humble opinion, be adopted in this country with reference to our colonies, whose wants at present have no interpreter intimately acquainted with colonial affairs in either branch of the Legislature.

## CHAPTER I.

### *Home of the Pilgrim Fathers.*

HAVING made the necessary preparations, I again put myself behind the boiling kettle, *en route* to the republican Athens. The day was intensely hot; even the natives required the windows open, and the dust being very lively, we soon became as powdered as a party going down to the Derby in the ante-railway days. My curiosity was excited on the way, by seeing a body of men looking like a regiment of fox-hunters—all well got-up, fine stout fellows—who entered, and filled two of the carriages. On inquiring who kept the hounds, and if they had good runs, a sly smile stole across my friend's cheek, as he told me they were merely the firemen of the city going to fraternize with the ditto ditto of Boston. It stupidly never occurred to me to ask him whether any provision was made in case of a quiet little fire developing itself during their absence, for their number was legion, and as active, daring, orderly looking

## CHAPTER I.

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fellows as ever I set eyes upon. Jolly apoplectic aldermen of our capital may forsake the green fat of their soup-making deity, to be feasted by their Parisian fraternity, without inconvenience to anybody, except it be to their fellow-passengers in the steamer upon their return, if they have been overfed and have not tempest-tried organs of digestion. But a useful body like firemen migrating should, I confess, have suggested to me the propriety of asking what substitutes were left to perform, if need be, their useful duties; not having done so, I am constrained to leave this important point in its present painful obscurity.

A thundering whistle and a cloud of steam announce the top is off the kettle, and that we have reached Boston. Wishing to take my own luggage in a hackney, I found, that however valuable for security the ticketing system may be, it was, under circumstances like mine at present, painfully trying to patience. In three quarters of an hour, however, I managed to get hold of it, and then by way of improving my temper, I ascertained that one of my boxes was in a state of 'pretty considerable all mighty smash.' At last I got off with my goods and chattels, and having seen quite enough of the American palace-hotels and their bountifully spread tables, and of the unrivalled energy

with which the meals are despatched; remembering also how frequently the drum of my ears had been distracted by the c nal rattling and crackling of plates and dishes for a couple of hundred people, and how my olfactories had suffered from the mixed odours of the kitchen produce; I declined going to the palatial Revere House—which is one of the best hotels in the Union—and put up at a house of less pretension, where I found both quiet and comfort.

To write a description of Boston when so many others have done so far better than I can pretend to do, and when voluminous gazetteers record almost every particular, would be drawing most unreasonably upon the patience of a reader, and might further be considered as inferring a doubt of his acquaintance with, I might almost say, a hackneyed subject. I shall therefore only inflict a few short observations to refresh his memory. The most striking feature in Boston, to my mind, is the Common or Park, inasmuch as it is the only piece of ground in or attached to any city which I saw, deserving the name of a park. It was originally a town cow-pasture, and called the Tower Fields. The size is about fifty acres; it is surrounded with an iron fencing, and although not large, the lay of the ground is very pretty. It contains some very fine old trees,

which every traveller in America must know are a great rarity in the neighbourhood of any populous town. It is overlooked by the State-house, which is built upon Beacon Hill, just outside the highest extremity of the park, and from the top of which a splendid panoramic view of the whole town and neighbourhood is obtained. The State-house is a fine building in itself, and contains one of Chantrey's best works—the statue of Washington. The most interesting building in Boston, to the Americans, is undoubtedly, Faneuil Hall, called also 'The Cradle of Liberty.' Within those walls, the stern oratory of noble hearts striving to be free, and daring to strike for it, was listened to by thousands, in whose breasts a ready response was found, and who, catching the glowing enthusiasm of the orators, determined rather to be rebels and free, than subjects and slaves; the sequel is matter of history.

I shall not tax the temper of my reader by going through any further list of the public buildings, which are sufficiently known to those who take an interest in this flourishing community; but I must hasten to apologize for my ingratitude in not sooner acknowledging that most pleasing feature in every traveller's experience in America, which I need hardly say is hospitality.

Scarce was my half-smashed box branded at the

hotel, when my young American friend, who came from England with our party, appeared to welcome me—perhaps to atone for the lion's share of champagne he had enjoyed at our table on board the steamer.[a] Then he introduced me to another, and another introduced me to another another, and another another introduced me to another another another, and so on, till I began to feel I must know all the *élite* of Boston. Club doors flew open, champagne corks flew out, cicerones, pedal and vehicular, were ever ready to guide me by day and feed me by night, and though there are no drones in a Yankee hive, so thoroughly did they dedicate themselves to my comfort and amusement, that a person, ignorant of the true state of things, might have fancied they were as idle and occupationless as the cigar-puffers who adorn some of our metropolitan club steps, the envy of passing butcher-boys and the liberal distributors of cigar-ends to unwashed youths who hang about ready to pounce upon the delicious and rejected morsels. Among other gentlemen whose acquaintance I had the pleasure of making, and whose hospitalities of course I enjoyed, I may mention Mr. Prescott and Mr. Ticknor; the former highly appreciated in the old country, and both so widely known and so justly

[a] *Vide* vol. i. page 8.

esteemed in the world of literature. As I consider such men public property, I make no apology for using their names, while in so doing I feel I am best conveying to the reader some idea of the society which a traveller meets with in Yankee Athens.

The town has one charm to me, which it shares in common with Baltimore; not only is it built on undulating ground, but there are old parts remaining, whereby the eye is relieved from the tiring monotony of broad and straight streets, while the newer parts form a pleasing variety, and bear gratifying evidence of the increasing wealth of its intelligent and industrious population. Then, again, the neighbourhood of the town has a charm for a wanderer from the old country; the roads are excellent, the fields and gardens are tidied up, creepers are led up the cottage walls, suburban villas abound, everything looks more clean, more *soigné*, more snug, more filled and settled than the neighbourhood of any other city I visited in America, and thus forces back upon the mind associations and reflections of dear old home.

Having enjoyed a visit to a friend in one of the suburban villas inland, to which he drove me in his light wagon, another vehicular cicerone insisted I should drive out to his uncle's, and spend a day at

his marine villa, about twelve miles distant. I joyfully assented to so pleasant a proposition, and 'hitching a three-forty before a light wagon,'—as the term is in America—we were soon bowling away merrily along a capital road. A pleasant drive of nine miles brought us to a little town called Lynn, after Lynn Regis in England, from which place some of the early settlers came. How often has the traveller to regret the annihilation of the wild old Indian names, and the substitution of appellatives from every creek and corner of the older continents; with Poquanum, Sagamore, Wenepoykin, with Susquehanna, Wyoming, Miami, and a thousand other such of every length and sound, all cut-and-dried to hand, it is more than a pity to see so great a country plagiarizing in such a wholesale manner, Pekins, Cantons, Turins, Troys, Carmels, Emmauses, Cairos, and a myriad other such borrowed plumes, plucked from Europe, Asia, and Africa, and hustled higgledy-piggledy side by side, without a single element or association to justify the uncalled-for robbery.

Forgive me, reader,—all this digression comes from my wishing Lynn had kept its old Indian name of Saugus; from such little acorns will such great oak-trees spring.—To resume. The said town of Lynn supplies understandings to a very respectable number

of human beings, and may be called a gigantic shoemaker's shop, everything being on the gigantic scale in America. It employs 11,000, out of its total population of 14,000 in that trade, and produces annually nearly 5,000,000 of women's and children's boots, shoes, and gaiters, investing in the business a capital amounting to £250,000. Moses and Son, Hyam and Co., Nicoll and Co., and the whole of the three-halfpence-a-shirt-paying capitalists, can show nothing like my shoemakers' shop, 'fix it how you will,'—as they say in the Great Republic.

The three-forty trotter soon left boots, shoes, and all behind, and deposited us at the door of the uncle's villa, where a friendly hand welcomed us to its hospitalities. It was very prettily situated upon a cliff overlooking Massachusetts Bay, in which said cliff a zigzag stepway was cut down to the water, for the convenience of bathing. The grounds were nicely laid out and planted, and promised in time to be well wooded, if the ocean breeze driving upon them did not lay an embargo upon their growth, in the same heartless manner as it does upon the west coast of Scotland, where, the moment a tree gets higher than a mop handle, its top becomes curved over by the gales, with the same graceful sweep as that which a successful stable-boy gives a birch broom after a

day's soaking. I hope, for my hospitable friend's sake, it may not prove true in his case; but I saw an ostrich-feathery curve upon the tops of some of his trees which looked ominous. Having spent a very pleasant day, and enjoyed good cheer and good company, Three-forty was again 'hitched to;' joined hands announced the parting moment had arrived; wreaths of smoke from fragrant Havanas ascended like incense from the shrine of adieu; 'G'lang'—the note of advance—was sounded; Three-forty sprang to the word of command; friends, shoes, and shoemakers were soon tailed of; and ere long your humble servant was nestling his nose in his pillow at Boston.

Hearing that the drama was investing its talent in Abolitionism, I went one evening to the theatre, to see if I could extract as much fun from the metropolis of a free state, as I had previously obtained from the capital of slave-holding Maryland; for I knew the Americans, both North and South, were as ticklish as young ladies. I found very much the same style of thing as at Baltimore, except that her abolitionist highness, the Duchess of Southernblack, did not appear on the stage by deputy; but, as an atonement for the omission, you had a genuine Yankee abolitionist; poor Uncle Tom and his fraternity were

duly licked and bullied by a couple of heartless Southern nigger-drivers; and while their victims were writhing in agony, a genuine abolitionist comes on the stage and whops the two nigger-drivers, amid shouts of applause. The suppliant Southerners, midst sobs and tears, plead for mercy, and in vain, until the happy thought occurs to one of them, to break forth into a wondrous tale of the atrocities inflicted upon the starving and naked slaves of English mines and factories, proving by contrast the superior happiness of the nigger and the greater mercifulness of his treatment. The indignant abolitionist drops the upraised cowhide, the sobs and tears of the Southerners cease, the whole house thunders forth the ecstasy of its delight, the curtain drops, and the enchanted audience adjourn to the oyster saloons, vividly impressed with British brutality, the charms of slavery, and the superiority of abolitionism.

How strange that in a country like this, boasting of its education, and certainly with every facility for its prosecution—how strange that in the very Athens of the Republic, the deluded masses should exhibit as complete ignorance as you could find in the gallery of any twopenny-halfpenny metropolitan theatre of the old country.

Another of the lions of Boston which I determined to witness, if possible, was 'spirit-rapping.' A friend

undertook the arrangement for me; but so fully were the hours of the exhibitor taken up, that it was five days before we could obtain a spare hour. At length the time arrived, and fortified with a good dinner and a skinful of 'Mumm Cabinet,' we proceeded to the witch's den. The witch was a clean and decent-looking girl about twenty, rather thin, and apparently very exhausted; gradually a party of ten assembled, and we gathered round the witch's table. The majority were ladies—those adorers of the marvellous. The names of friends were called for; the ladies took the alphabet, and running over it with the point of a pencil, the spirit rapped as the wished-for letter was reached. John Davis was soon spelt, each letter probably having been indicated by the tremulous touch of affectionate hope. Harriet Mercer was then rapped out by the obliging spirit. The pencil and the alphabet were then handed to me, and the spirit being asked if it would answer my inquiries, and a most satisfactory 'Yes' being rapped out, I proceeded to put its powers to the test. I concentrated my thoughts upon a Mr. L—— and his shop in Fleet-street, with both of which being thoroughly familiar, I had no difficulty in fixing my attention upon them. The pencil was put in motion, powerful rappings were heard as it touched the D. I kept my gravity, and

went on again and again, till the name of the illustrious duke, whose death the civilized world was then deploring with every token of respect, was fully spelt out. The witch was in despair; she tried again and again to summon the rebellious spirit, but it would not come. At last, a gentleman present, and who evidently was an *habitué* of the witch's den, proposed that the refractory spirit should be asked if any of the company were objectionable to it. This being done, a rattling 'Yes' came forth, upon which each person asked in succession, 'Am I objectionable to you?' There was a dead silence till it came to my friend and myself, to each of whom it gave a most rappingly emphatic 'Yes.' Accordingly, we rose and left the field to those whose greater gullibility rendered them more plastic objects for working upon. Never in my life did I witness greater humbug; and yet so intense was the anxiety of the Boston public to witness the miracle, that during all the day and half the night, the spirit was being invoked by the witch, into whose pockets were pouring the dollars of thousands of greater gabies than myself, for many went away believers, receiving the first germs of impressions which led them to a Lunatic Asylum or an early grave, as various statistics in America prove most painfully.

To show the extent to which belief in these absurdities goes, I subjoin an extract from a paper, by which it appears that even the solemnities of a funeral cannot sober the minds of their deluded followers. Mr. Calvin R. Brown—better known as the husband of Mrs. Anne L. Fish, a famous 'spirit medium' in New York—having died, we read the following notice of the funeral:—'After prayer, the Rev. S. B. Brittan delivered an address, in which he dwelt with much earnestness upon the superiority of the life of the spirit, as compared with that of the body. At various points in his address there were rappings, sometimes apparently on the bottom of the coffin, and at others upon the floor, as if in response to the sentiments uttered. After concluding his address, Professor Brittan read a communication purporting to have come from the deceased after his entrance into the spirit world. While it was being read, the reporter states that the rappings were distinctly heard. Several friends then sang, 'Come, ye disconsolate,' after which the Rev. Mr. Denning made a few remarks, during which the rappings were more audible than before. Other ceremonies closed the funeral. The whole party, preachers, physicians, and all, were spiritualists,' &c.

But I have before me a letter written by Judge

Edmonds, which is a more painful exemplification of the insanity superinduced by giving way to these absurdities; in that document you will find him deliberately stating that he saw heavy tables flying about without touch, like the leaves in autumn; bells walking off shelves and ringing themselves, &c. Also, you will find him classing among his co-believers 'Doctors, lawyers, clergymen, a Protestant bishop, a learned and reverend president of a college, judges of higher courts, members of congress, foreign ambassadors [I hope not Mr. Crampton], and ex-members of the United States Senate.' For the benefit of those who are anxious to know the full measure of folly which may be reached, I give you the letter *in extenso* in the *Appendix A*. Those who do not take an interest in such matters need not refer to it.

If such a letter, coming from such a quarter, will not make any wavering spiritualist turn from his folly, his friends had better write to Dr. Conolly and engage lodgings for him at Hanwell without missing a post. —Let us now, however, return from this digression.

The ladies of the old country will no doubt be astonished to hear that their sisters of the younger country have medical colleges in various States; but, I believe, mostly in the northern ones. To what extent their studies in the healing art are carried, I cannot

precisely inform them; it most probably will not stop at combinations of salts and senna, or spreading plasters—for which, previous nursery practice with bread and butter, might eminently qualify them. How deeply they will dive into the mysteries of anatomy, unravelling the tangled web of veins and arteries, and mastering the intricacies of the ganglionic centre; or how far they will practise the subjugation of their feelings, whether only enough to whip off some pet finger and darling little toe, or whether sufficiently to perform more important operations, even such as Sydney Smith declared a courageous little prime minister was ready to undertake at a minute's notice; these are questions which I cannot answer; but one thing is clear, the wedge is entered. How far it will be driven in, time must show.[a]

[a] The Massachusetts Legislature, in its last session, appropriated funds to the New England Female Medical College, located in Boston, to pay forty students for five years.

## CHAPTER II.

### *Teaching of Youth, and a Model Jail.*

I MUST now turn to a more important and interesting feature of Boston, viz., education. We all remember how the religious persecution in the reign of Elizabeth, fettering men's consciences, drove a devoted band of deep-thinking Christians into caves of concealment, and how, after much peril, they escaped in 1609, in the reign of James the First, to Amsterdam, under the leadership of the noble-hearted J. Robinson, where, after sighing long for a return beneath the flag of the country of their birth, they obtained a charter from the Virginia Company. The first division of them embarked on board 'The Mayflower,' a small vessel of 180 tons, and sailed from Plymouth 6th September 1620, landing in their new and barren home upon the 11th of December. These were the sturdy champions of liberty of conscience, from whom the New Englanders may be said to have sprung, and who have leavened the whole community with their energy and indomitable spirit: such men

knew how to appreciate education, as the leveller of oppression and the bulwark of freedom; and it is therefore no wonder that the American Republic recognises them as the worthy pioneers of that noble feature in their institutions—free education supplied to all by the State.

Let us, then, see how far their descendants are treading in their footsteps upon this point. I speak of Boston and its 150,000 inhabitants, not of the State. And first, it is important to observe, that the strict provisions of the State requirements would be met by three schools, and three teachers with assistants, whose salaries would amount to £900. The actual provision made by this energetic community, is,—Schools: 1 Latin, 1 English, 22 grammar, 194 primary,—total for salaries £37,000. And that it may not be supposed the salaries are great prizes, it is important to remark, that there are 65 male teachers, and about 300 female teachers. The highest paid are head-masters of Latin and English schools, £490; sub-masters of same, and head-masters of grammar, £300; ushers, assistants, &c., from £50 to £160; and female teachers from £45 to £60, with £5 additional for care of the rooms.

All the primary schools have female teachers; and the feeling is strongly in favour of females for in-

structing the very young, their patience and kindness being less likely to foster feelings of dread and dislike.

The total amount of taxes raised in the city is, in round numbers, £250,000; of which £65,000, or more than one-fourth, is devoted to schools. The total value of all public school estates of Boston, up to May 1851, was £260,000; and the salary of the head-master is, within a few pounds, equal to that of the governor of the State.

Say, then, reader, has some portion of the spirit of the Pilgrim Fathers descended to the present generation, or not?—a population of 150,000 devoting £260,000 to education.

Wherever parents are unable to provide books, &c., the children are supplied with the use of them *gratis*. All corporal punishment is strongly discouraged, but not prohibited; and all inflictions thereof are recorded for the information of the Visiting Board. Having omitted to make personal inquiries on the spot, I obtained, through the kindness of Mr. Ticknor, answers to the following questions on the point of religious instruction:—

1. 'Are the pupils at your normal schools obliged to receive religious instruction from some minister, and to attend some place of worship; or may they, if they prefer, receive no such instruction, and attend no church?'

'The State has put the normal schools under the charge of the Board of Education, with no special law or instructions. The Board of Education endeavours to act on exactly the same principles as those which the law has laid down with respect to the common schools. The Board requires that the pupils of the normal schools attend some place of worship, the pupil making his own choice. These schools are opened every morning with reading the Scriptures, singing, and prayer. The moral conduct of the pupils is carefully watched over, and instruction is given in respect to the best methods of training the young in religion and morals. The religious teaching is ethical, not doctrinal.'

2. 'Are the children at your common schools obliged to receive some religious instruction, or if their parents express a wish they should not receive any at school, is the wish complied with?'

'The law requires all teachers to instruct their pupils 'in the principles of piety,' and forbids any sectarian books to be introduced into the public schools. The school committees of each town prescribe the class-books to be used, and commonly make the Bible one of those books. The teacher is expected to follow the law in respect to teaching the principles of piety, without any instruction from the

school committee, and is almost always allowed to do this in his own way, unless he is guilty of some impropriety, in which case the school committee interferes. He usually has devotional exercises at the opening of the school, and reads the Scriptures, or causes them to be read, as an act of worship, whether they are prescribed by the committee or not. Many teachers take that occasion to remark upon topics of morality, and thereby aim to prevent mis conduct. Indeed the Bible is much relied on as a means of discipline rather for preventing wrong-doing, than for correcting it.

'No minister, as such, gives religious instruction in any of our public schools. Ministers are commonly on the school committees, and when visiting the schools, as committees, exhort the children to good behaviour, and to a religious life.

'No cases are known of parents wishing their children to be excused from such religious instruction, except with the Catholics, who sometimes desire that their children be excused from the devotional exercises, especially from reading the Protestant version of the Bible. Even this is very rare where the teacher himself reads the Scriptures in connexion with other devotional exercises. It occurs most frequently where the children are required to use the Bible themselves,

either in devotional exercises or in a reading lesson. But those wishes are not often regarded, because the committee has a legal right to prescribe the Bible as a school-book, and to require all the pupils to comply with all the regulations of the school. In some few instances, committees have thought it expedient to allow the Douay version to be used by Catholic children; but it amounts to nothing, as it is an abstract point started by the priests, for which parents care but little; besides, it is objected that the Douay version with its glosses is 'a sectarian book,' whereas the common English version without note or comment is not.'

Scholars desirous of entering the higher schools are generally required to pass through the lower, and bring therefrom certificates of capacity and conduct. In the statute of the State, with reference to education, all professors, tutors, instructors, &c., are enjoined to impress upon the minds of those committed to their charge 'the principles of piety, justice, a sacred regard to truth, and love of their country.' Among the various subjects in connexion with education, in which instruction is given in these schools, it may be as well to mention one, which, I believe, is all but totally neglected in England. By legislative enactment, section 2, 'All school-teachers

shall hereafter be examined in their knowledge of the elementary principles of physiology and hygiène, and their ability to give instructions in the same.'

The School Committee consists of two members from each of the twelve wards of the city, chosen annually, and assisted by the Mayor and President of the Common Council. The average expense of each scholar at the primary schools is 25*s.* per annum, and at the higher schools three guineas. Under the foregoing system, 12,000 children are instructed annually at the primary schools, and 10,000 at the higher schools, which aggregate of 22,000 will give an attendance of nearly 70 per cent. upon all children between the ages of five and fifteen, to whom the avenues of knowledge, from the lisping letters of infancy to the highest branches of philosophy, are freely opened.

Through the kindness of Mr. B. Seaver, the mayor of Boston, I was enabled to visit several of these schools, the cleanliness of which, as well as their good ventilation, was most satisfactory. The plan adopted here, of having the stools made of iron and screwed on to the floor, with a wooden seat fixed on the top for each pupil, and a separate desk for every two, struck me as admirably calculated to improve

ventilation and check sky-larking and noise. The number of public schools in the whole State is 4056, which are open for seven months and a half in the year, and the average attendance of scholars is 145,000; besides which there are 749 private schools, with 16,000 scholars. It is a curious fact, and bears strong testimony to the efficiency of the public schools, that while they have increased by 69 during the year, the private schools have decreased by 36. The foregoing sketch is from the official Reports, printed at Boston in 1853.

In addition to these schools, there are four colleges, three theological seminaries, and two medical schools; of these, I shall only notice one of the colleges which I visited, and which enjoys a high reputation—viz., Harvard College—or Cambridge, as it is sometimes called, from the village where it is situated. The history of this college is a wholesome proof how a small institution, if duly fostered by a nation, may eventually repay future generations with liberal interest. Established in 1636, by a vote of £400, it obtained the name of Harvard, from the bequeathment by a reverend gentleman of that name, A.D. 1638, of the sum of £780, and 300 volumes. Its property now amounts to upwards of £100,000, and it is divided into five departments—collegiate, law, medical, theo-

logical, and scientific—affording education to 652 students, of whom one-half are undergraduates. There are forty-five instructors, all men of unquestionable attainments, and capable of leading the students up to the highest steps of every branch of knowledge; the necessary expenses of a student are about forty-five pounds a year; the fee for a master of arts, including the diploma, is one pound sterling.

Meritorious students whose circumstances require it, are allowed, at the discretion of the Faculty, to be absent for thirteen weeks, including the winter vacation, for the purpose of teaching schools. Parents who think their sons unable to take care of their own money, may send it to a patron duly appointed by the College, who will then pay all bills and keep the accounts, receiving as compensation two and a half per cent. I think the expenses of this establishment will astonish those who have had to 'pay the piper' for a smart young man at Oxford, as much as the said young man would have been astonished, had his allowance while there been paid into the hands of some prudent and crusty patron. Tandems and tin horns would have been rather at discount—*cum pluribus aliis.*

The College has a look of antiquity, which is particularly pleasant in a land where almost everything

is spick-and-span new; but the rooms I thought low and stuffy, and the walls and passages had a neglected plaster-broken appearance. There are some very fine old trees in the green, which, throwing their shade over the time-worn building, help to give it a venerable appearance. A new school of science has just been built by the liberality of Mr. Lawrence,[a] late Minister of the United States in this country, and I may add that the wealth and prosperity of the College is almost entirely due to private liberality.

As the phonetic system of education has been made a subject of so much discussion in the United States, I make no apology for inserting the following lengthy observations thereon. A joint committee on Education, appointed to inquire into its merits by the Senate, in 1851, reported that there was evidence tending to show,—'That it will enable the pupil to learn to read phonetically in one-tenth of the time ordinarily employed. That it will enable the learner to read the common type in one-fourth of the time necessary according to the usual mode of instruction. That its acquisition leads the pupil

[a] Such gifts during the lifetime of the donor are, in my estimation, better evidences of liberality and zeal in a cause, than the most munificent bequests even of a Stephen Gerard, who only gave what he could no longer enjoy.

to the correct pronunciation of every word. That it will present to the missionary a superior alphabet for the representation of hitherto unwritten languages,' &c.—A similar committee, to whom the question was referred by the House of Representatives in 1852, state that during the past year the system had been tried in twelve public schools, and that, according to the testimony of the teachers, children evinced greater attachment to their books, and learnt to read with comparative ease; and they conclude their report in these words:—'Impressed with the importance of the phonetic system, which, if primarily learnt, according to the testimony presented, would save two years of time to each of the two hundred thousand children in the State, the committee would recommend to school committees and teachers, the introduction of the phonetic system of instruction into all the primary schools of the State, for the purpose of teaching the reading and spelling of the common orthography, with an enunciation which can rarely be secured by the usual method, and with a saving of time and labour to both teachers and pupils, which will enable the latter to advance in physical and moral education alone until they are six years of age, without any permanent loss in the information they will ultimately obtain.'

One gentleman of the minority of the committee sent in a very strong report condemning the system. He declares 'the system is nothing but an absurd attempt to mystify and perplex a subject, which ought to be left plain and clear to the common apprehensions of common men.' Further on he states, 'No human ingenuity can show a reason for believing that the way to learn the true alphabet, is first to study a false alphabet; that the way to speak words rightly, is to begin by spelling them wrong; that the way to teach the right use of a letter, is to begin by giving a false account of a letter. Yet the phonetic system, so far as it is anything, is precisely this.' Then again with reference to the eight specimen scholars, taken from a school of fifty, and who were exhibited, he observes, 'they were the same as those who were examined a year ago; nothing is said of the other forty-two. It is not necessary to say anything more of the character of such evidence as this;' and he winds up by observing: 'Such a mode of instruction would, in his opinion, waste both the time and the labour employed upon it, and complicate and embarrass a study, which in its true shape is perfectly simple and clear.' The following old anecdote would rather tend to prove that spelling and reading were not either 'simple or clear' to a Lancashire judge,

who, having asked the name of a witness, and not catching the word exactly, desired him to spell it, which he proceeded to do thus:—'O double T, I double U, E double L, double U, double O, D.' The learned judge laid down his pen in astonishment, and after two or three unsuccessful efforts at last declared he was unable to record it—so puzzled was he with the 'simple' spelling of that clear name—Ottiwell Wood.

In the *Massachusetts Teacher* of January, 1853, there is the report of a committee, in which they state 'that children taught solely by the phonetic system, and only twenty minutes each day, outstripped all their compeers.' They further add that 'the phonetic system, thus beneficial in its effects, has been introduced into one hundred and nineteen public and five private schools, and that they have reason to believe, that no committee ever appointed to examine its merits have ever reported adverse to it;' and they conclude by strongly recommending teachers to test the merits of the system by actual trial in their schools.' Then again in the following number of their journal they strongly condemn the system as both useless and impracticable.

Having carefully weighed the arguments on both sides, I am led to the conclusion, that the objections of those who condemn the system are partly owing to

the fact, that while reaching their present advanced state of knowledge, they have entirely forgotten their own struggles, and are thus insensibly led to overlook the confusion and difficulty which must ever arise in the infant mind, where similar combinations produce dissimilar sounds. An infant mind is incapable of grasping differences, but understands readily simple facts; if what meets the eye represent a certain fixed sound, the infant readily acquires that sound; but if the eye rest on *o*, *u*, *g*, *h*, as a combination, and the endeavour is made to teach him the endless varieties of sound produced thereby, his little mind becomes puzzled, his ideas of truth become confused, his memory becomes distrusted, and his powers of reading become retarded by the time occupied in the—to him —most uninteresting task of learning a host of unmeaning sounds. The inevitable consequence is that the poor little victim becomes disheartened, rendering a considerable amount of additional trouble and—which is far more difficult to find—patience necessary upon the part of the teacher.

Common sense points out, that the reading of phonetic words must be more easily learnt than the reading of the aphonetic words, of which our language is essentially composed. The real question is simply this. Does the infant mind advance with such

rapidity under phonetic teaching, as to enable it at a certain age to transfer its powers to orthodox orthography, and reach a given point of knowledge therein, with less trouble, and in a shorter space of time, than those infants do who are educated upon the old system? If phonetic teaching has this effect, it is an inestimable boon, and if not, it is a complete humbug. It should also be borne in mind, that the same arguments which hold good in the case of infants will apply also in a great degree to adults who wish to learn to read, and to foreigners commencing the study of our language. Whether any further use of phonetics is either desirable or practicable, would be a discussion out of place in these pages.

When any startling novelty is proposed, enthusiasts carry their advocacy of it so far as often to injure the cause they wish to serve; on the other hand, too many of the educated portion of the community are so strenuously opposed to innovation, as to raise difficulties rather than remove them. Has not the common sense of the age been long calling for changes in the law of partnership, divorce, &c., and is not some difficulty always arising? Has not the commercial world been crying aloud for decimal coinage and decimal weights and measures, and are not educated men constantly finding some objections, and

will they not continue to do so, until some giant mind springs up able to grasp the herculean task, and force the boon upon the community? Were not steamboats and railways long opposed as being little better than insane visions? Did not Doctor Lardner prove to demonstration that railway carriages could never go more than twenty miles an hour, owing to the laws of resistance, friction, &c., and did not Brunel take the breath out of him, and the pith out of his arguments, by carrying the learned demonstrator with him on a locomotive, and whisking him ten miles out of London in as many minutes? When I see that among so intelligent and practical a people as the New Englanders—a people whose thoughts and energies are so largely devoted to education — one hundred and nineteen schools have adopted the phonetic system, I cannot but look back to the infancy of steam, and conclude, that there must be more advantages in that system than its opponents seem disposed to allow it to possess.

The Committee of Council on Education in England, to whom the funds set apart for educational purposes are intrusted, authorized the printing of phonic books for schools some years since; but authorizing books without training masters to teach them, is about as useful as putting engines into a

ship without supplying engineers to work them. Besides which, their phonic system was in itself confusing and objectionable; they have also informed the public, that the system, in various forms, is almost universally adopted in the elementary schools of Holland, Prussia, and Germany.[a]

I should also mention that other systems have been tried both in England and Scotland, and that those teachers who employ them, speak highly of their advantages, especially in the latter country. I have now a paper before me called *The Reading Reformer*, in which I find the following sentence, which tends to show that the system is approved of in France in the highest quarters:—'The phonetic method of primary instruction is used in the 5th regiment of the line, the 12th light, the Penitentiary of St. Germain, and the House of Correction for young prisoners. The Minister of War has ordered that French should be taught by this method to the young Arabs, in the three schools of Algiers, Oran, and Philipville.'

[a] The expense of printing proper books is sometimes mentioned as an objection, on account of requiring new types for the new sounds taught. No expense can outweigh the value of a change by which education can be facilitated; but even thisdifficulty has been obviated by Major Beniowski's plan. He obtains the new symbols requisite by simply inverting a certain number of letters for that purpose.

One great mistake has been made by the champions of this mode of teaching, which is more fatal to its success—in my opinion—than any difficulty raised by its opponents, and that is the adoption by each champion of his own peculiar phonetic alphabet; and for which he claims a superiority over the alphabets of others. The absurdity of this perpetual strife must be palpable. If a Fireworshipper were to be converted, what hopes of success would there be, if a Mormonite and a Mussulman were placed on one side of him, and a Free Kirk man and a Jesuit on the other? The public, as regards phonetic teaching, are precisely in that Fireworshipper's position. Reader, you must form your own opinion. I offer none; and now, with your permission we will quit the region of speculation, and return to sober fact.

One of the most striking buildings I visited during my stay at Boston was the jail; the airiness and cleanliness were both perfect, and the arrangement was to me totally novel. Independent of the ground outside, which is walled all round, the jail itself is built under a large outer case, affording abundance of light and ventilation. This outer building forms a corridor all round the jail, affording protection to the keepers from all weathers, and thus enables them to keep an efficient watch over the inmates. Sup-

posing any prisoner to escape from his cell, he is still hemmed in by this outer case, which has only one door, so situated that no one can approach it without being seen from a considerable distance; and, even if these difficulties be overcome, the outer wall common to all prisons still remains. As far as I could learn, no prisoner has ever been able to force his way out. At night a blaze of gas in the outer hall lights all the dormitories and the corridor which runs round outside the jail, thus rendering escape as difficult at night as in broad daylight. Water is freely supplied to every room on every story, and means of bathing are arranged in various parts of the building. School-rooms, private rooms, and a chapel are all contained within this leviathan outer case. In short, to those who take an interest in improving the airiness of jails and the security of prisoners, this building is well worth the most careful examination, and I trust we may some day profit by the improvements which the ingenuity of the New Englanders have here exhibited, for the frequent escapes from our jails prove that some change is requisite.

The Bostonians have applied the telegraph to a most important use, which, I believe, we have totally overlooked in England. The town is divided

into sections, in each of which are a certain number of stations; all of these latter have a telegraph-office, communicating with one grand central office, by which means they explain where the fire is. The central office immediately indicates to every section the information thus obtained by the ringing of alarm-bells; and, by this method, every fire-station in the city is informed of the locality of the danger within a few minutes after its occurrence.

The naval arsenal at Boston is moderate in size, kept very clean, but when I visited it there were little signs of activity or life. They have only three building sheds, in one of which a vessel has been in progress for twenty years; the other two are vacant. The principal feature is the rope-walk, which is 1640 feet long, and worked by steam power.

The United States being on friendly terms with England, and so far removed from Europe and its politics and its disturbances, pays comparatively little attention to its navy, which is small when considered in reference to the size and wealth of the country, and the extent of its seaboard.

The convention for the amendment of the constitution being in session, I was enabled, through the kindness of Mr. Sumner, the senator for the State, to witness their proceedings, which were conducted with

becoming dignity; the speakers, if not eloquent, at least adhered to the subject under discussion, in a manner some of the wordy and wandering gentlemen in our House of Commons might imitate with advantage.

The supply of water for the town is brought from Lake Cochitnate, a distance of twenty miles; and the length of piping in connexion with it is upwards of 100 miles. The State authorized a city debt of £900,000 for the necessary expenses of the undertaking and purchase of the ground, &c. The annual receipts amount to £36,000, which will of course increase with the population. Dwelling-houses pay from £1 as high as £15 tax, according to their consumption. The average daily expenditure in 1853 was about 7,000,000 gallons, or nearly 50 gallons per head.

Before leaving Boston, I may as well give some evidence of the prosperity of the State. In the year 1830, the population was 600,000; at the present date, it is 1,000,000. The exports of domestic produce, which in 1844 amounted to £1,275,000, now amount to upwards of £2,830,000; and the imports, which at the former period amounted to £4,000,000, now amount to nearly £7,000,000. The population of Boston has increased 600 per cent. during

the present century. Lowell, which is the great Manchester of Massachusetts, has increased its population from 6500 in 1830 to nearly 40,000 at the present date; and the capital invested, which in 1823 was only £500,000, is now nearly £2,700,000. I do not wish to weary my readers with statistics, and therefore trust I have said enough to convey a tolerable impression of the go-aheadism of these hardy and energetic descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers; and, for the same reasons, I have not made any observations upon their valuable libraries, hospitals, houses of industry, reformation, &c., the former of which are so largely indebted to private munificence. But before taking my leave of Boston, I must notice the great pleasure I derived from hearing in all quarters the very favourable impression which Lord Elgin's visit, on the occasion of opening the railway in 1851, had produced. His eloquence and urbanity was a constant theme of conversation with many of my friends, who generally wound up by saying, 'A few such visits as that of the Railway Jubilee, would do more to cement the good feeling between the two countries than the diplomacy of centuries could effect.' I must here add, that upon my visiting Quebec, I found that the same cordial feeling of fellowship had been produced on the Canadian mind,

by the brotherly reception they had met with upon that memorable occasion. Farewell to Boston! but not farewell to the pleasing recollection of the many happy hours I spent, nor of the many kind friends whose acquaintance I enjoyed there, and which I hope on some future occasion to renew and improve.

## CHAPTER III.

### *Canada.*

EARLY morning found me seated in the cars on my way to Quebec. Not being a good hand at description of scenery, this railway travelling is a great boon to my unfortunate reader—if he have got thus far. A Nubian clothed in castor-oil, and descending from the heavens by a slippery seat upon a rainbow, might as well attempt to describe the beauties of our sphere, as the caged traveller at the tail of the boiling kettle attempt to convey much idea of the scenery he passes through. Not merely do the scrunching squeaks of the break, the blasty trumpet whistle, the slamming of doors, and the squalling of children bewilder his brain and bedeafen his ears, but the iron tyrant enchains and confuses his eyes; a beautiful village rivets his attention,—bang he goes into the tunneled bowels of the earth; a magnificent panorama enchants his sight as he emerges from the realms of darkness; he calls to a neighbour to share the enjoyment of the lovely scene with him; the last sounds of

the call have not died away, ere he finds himself wedged in between two embankments, with nought else but the sky for the eye to rest on. Is it any wonder, then—nay, rather, is it not an evidence of truthfulness, that I find the record of my journey thus described in my note-book:—'7½ A.M., Fizz, fizz, hiss, hiss—waving fields —undulating ground—sky—varied tints of green —cottages, cattle, humanities —— bridges, bays, rivers, dust, and heat — Rouse's Point, 7½ P.M.' At this point we got out of the cage and embarked in a steamer. The shroud of night hung heavily around us, and the lights of Montreal and its suburbs, reflected in the unruffled stream, shone all the brighter from the density of the surrounding darkness, and formed a brilliant illumination. In half an hour I was comfortably housed in the hotel, where, to my agreeable surprise, I met one of my countrywomen, whose many charms had made her a theme of much admiration at Washington, where I first had the pleasure of making her acquaintance.

Any one who, wandering far from home, finds himself surrounded with utter strangers, will partially understand the pleasure I enjoyed at finding one face I had looked upon before; but to understand it fully, they must know the face I was then gazing upon. Don't be curious, reader, as to who it belonged,

for I have no intention of enlightening you, further than to say it belonged to her and her husband. Twelve hours of railway makes me sleepy; it's my nature, and I can't help it, so I trust I may be excused, when I confess that I very soon exchanged the smile of beauty for the snore of Morpheus. What my dreams were, it concerns nobody to know.

The magnificent brow of hill which overhangs Montreal was named in 1535 Mont Royal, by the famous Jacques Cartier, in honour of his royal master; the French settlement which arose a century after, in the neighbourhood of the Indian village of Hochelaga, assumed the name of the hill, and has at last gradually shaken down into its present combination. What Goths, not to preserve the Indian name which savours of the land and of antiquity, instead of substituting a French concoction! With regard to the site of the town, there is no doubt it is on the island now called Montreal; but where that island is situated may be considered an open question; the river Ottawa runs into the St. Lawrence at the western extremity of the island, and the question is, whether the water on the northern shore is the Ottawa or the St. Lawrence; upon which depends whether the island is in the St. Lawrence, or between the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa. Not wishing to deprive

either of their finger in the pie, I should give my verdict in favour of the latter opinion, but I leave it an open question to the reader. The population of the town is increasing rapidly, no doubt owing in great measure to emigration. In 1849 it was 48,000, in 1851, 58,000. The great majority are of the Church of Rome, 41,000; of the Church of England there are 4000; the other denominations are in small numbers.

At the time I arrived the town was full of gloom and excitement, for it was but a few days previous that the Roman Catholics endeavoured to murder Gavazzi, while delivering one of his anti-Romanistic lectures, which, whatever their merits or demerits, were most certainly very injudicious, considering the elements of which the population of Montreal is composed; and it cannot be denied, that Signor Gavazzi's lectures upon sacred subjects are delivered in a style partaking so much of the theatrical, that a person ignorant of the language of his address, might readily suppose that he was taking off John Kemble and Liston alternately, and therefore the uneducated Irish emigrants might very well conclude his sole object was to turn their creed into ridicule. I certainly never heard or saw a person, lecturing on sacred subjects, whose tone and manner were so

ridiculously yet painfully at variance with the solemnity due to such a theme. The excitement produced, the consequent calling out of the military, and the melancholy sequel, are too recent and well known to require recapitulation here. It is but just to the French Romanists to state, that as a body they repudiated and took no part in the villanous attempt upon Gavazzi's life; the assailants were almost exclusively Irish Romanists, who form nearly one-fifth of the population. Would that they could leaven their faith with those Christian virtues of peacefulness and moderation which shine so creditably in their co-religionists of French origin.

While touching upon the subject of the military being called out in aid of the civil power, I am reminded of a passage extracted from some journal which a friend showed me, and which I consider so well expressed, that I make no apology for giving it at length.

'THE MOB.—The mob is a demon fierce and ungovernable. It will not listen to reason: it will not be influenced by fear, or pity, or self-preservation. It has no sense of justice. Its energy is exerted in frenzied fits; its forbearance is apathy or ignorance. It is a grievous error to suppose that this cruel, this worthless hydra, has any political feeling. In its triumph, it breaks windows; in its anger, it breaks heads. Gratify it, and it creates a disturbance; disappoint it, and it grows furious; attempt to appease it, and it becomes outrageous;

meet it boldly, and it turns away. It is accessible to no feeling but one of personal suffering; it submits to no argument but that of the strong hand. The point of the bayonet convinces; the edge of the sabre speaks keenly; the noise of musketry is listened to with respect; the roar of artillery is unanswerable. How deep, how grievous, how burdensome is the responsibility that lies on him who would rouse this fury from its den! It is astonishing, it is too little known, how much individual character is lost in the aggregate character of a multitude. Men may be rational, moderate, peaceful, loyal, and sober, as individuals; yet heap them by the thousand, and in the very progress of congregation, loyalty, quietness, moderation, and reason evaporate, and a multitude of rational beings is an unreasonable and intemperate being—a wild, infuriated monster, which may be driven, but not led, except to mischief—which has an appetite for blood, and a savage joy in destruction, for the mere gratification of destroying.'

The various fires with which the city has been visited, however distressing to the sufferers, have not been without their good effect, of which the eye has most satisfactory evidence in the numerous public and other buildings now built of stone. The only monument in the city is one which was raised to Nelson. Whether the memory of the hero has passed away, or the ravages of the weather call too heavily on the public purse, I cannot say; but it would be more creditable to the town to remove it entirely, than to allow it to remain in its present disgraceful state. It is reported that its restoration is to be effected by

private subscription; if so, more shame to the authorities.

As my first object was to reach Quebec, I only stayed one day at Montreal, which I employed in driving about to see what changes had taken place in the town and neighbourhood since my former visit in 1826. I started by steamer in the evening, and arrived early the next morning.

Is there any scene more glorious to look upon than that which greets the eye from the citadel at Quebec? The only scene I know more glorious is Rio Janeiro, which I believe to be by far the grandest in the world; but then Rio lacks the associations of Quebec. Who can ever forget that beneath its walls two chieftains, the bravest of the brave, fell on the same battle-field —the one in the arms of victory, the other in defence of his country and her honour? The spot where our hero fell is marked by a pillar thus simply inscribed:—

HERE DIED
WOLFE
VICTORIOUS.

Nor has the noble foe been forgotten, though for a long time unnoticed. In the year 1827, the Earl of Dalhousie being Governor-General, a monument was raised in Quebec to Wolfe and Montcalm; and the

death they both met at the post of honour is commemorated on the same column,—a column on which an Englishman may gaze with pride and a Frenchman without a blush. The following words, forming part of the inscription, I think well worthy of insertion: "Military prowess gave them a common death, History a common fame, Posterity a common monument.'

It is a curious fact, that when the foundation-stone was laid, an old soldier from Ross-shire, the last living veteran of the gallant band who fought under Wolfe, was present at the ceremony, being then in his ninety-fifth year. Everybody who has seen or read of Quebec must remember the magnificent towering rock overhanging the river, on the summit of which the citadel is placed, forming at once the chief stronghold of its defence and the grandest feature of its scenery. But perhaps everybody does not know that to this same glorious feature the city owes its name. The puny exclamation of Jacques Cartier's Norman pilot upon beholding it was, *'Que bec!'* and this expression of admiration has buried, in all but total oblivion, the old Algonquin name of Stadacona. What a pity that old pilot was not born dumb.

The increase of population here does not seem to be very rapid. In 1844 it was about 36,000; now, it

is little more than 42,000. There can be no doubt that the severity of the climate is one great cause of so small an increase. When it is remembered that the average arrival of the first vessel after the breaking up of the ice is between the last week of April and the first week in May, this need not much be wondered at.

The Governor-General's residence is removed from the town, and a beautiful little country villa, called Spencer Wood, has been assigned him in lieu. It is situated on the banks of the river, about half a mile inland; the only objection to it is, that the size thereof is not sufficient for vice-regal entertainments; but a very slight addition would remedy that defect. In all other respects it is a charming place, as I can gratefully testify. The drives and sights around the city are too well known to need much notice from me.

Montmorenci, with its frozen cone in winter, is one of the chief resorts for pic-nickers in their sleighs. The trackless path over the frozen snow during the season is as full of life as Windsor park was in the old Ascot days. Bright eyes beaming from rosy cheeks, and half buried in furs, anxiously watch for the excitement of a capsize, and laugh merrily as the mixed tenants of some sleigh are seen rolling over one another in most ludicrous confusion; the

sun shines brightly, the bells ring cheerily, all is jollity and fun, and a misanthrope would be as much out of his element in one of these pic-nics as a bear in a ballet.

The falls of Lorette afford another pleasant excursion, not forgetting old Paul and his wife—a venerable Indian chief and his squaw—whom I visited, and the cleanliness of whose cottage I had great pleasure in complimenting him upon, as also upon his various medals, which extended from Château Gai down to the Exhibition of 1851. He appeared as much struck with my venerable appearance as I was with his; for upon being asked my age, he bestowed a searching glance from head to foot, and then gravely replied, 'Seventy-five.' I rebelled against his decision, and appealed to his wife, who kindly took my part, and after a steady gaze said, 'Oh, Paul! that gentleman is not more than seventy-two.' It was in vain I tried to satisfy them, that thirty summers would have to pass over my head before I reached that honourable time of life. However, it is not only Indians who miscalculate age, for a young lady fresh from Ireland, having the same question put to her, said, 'Sixty;' and upon being told she was seventeen years out in her calculation, she replied with painful coolness, 'Which way?' I never felt a confirmed old bachelor till I heard that awful 'Which way?'

The roads round about in all directions are admirable; not so if you cross the river to the Falls of the Chaudière; but the abomination of abominations is the ferry-boat, and the facilities, or rather obstacles, for entering and exiting. To any one who has seen the New York ferry-boats and all the conveniences connected with them, the contrast is painfully humiliating. In the one case, you drive on board as readily as into a court-yard, and find plenty of room when you get there; in the other, you have half-a-dozen men holding horses and carriages, screaming in all directions, and more time is wasted in embarking than a Yankee boat would employ to deposit you safely on the other side; and it would puzzle a Philadelphia lawyer to decide which is the more abominable, the exit or the entry. Nevertheless, the traveller will find himself compensated for all his troubles—especially if the horse and carriage be a friend's—by the lovely drive which takes him to the Chaudière Falls, a trip I had the pleasure of making in company with a jolly party of good fellows, belonging to the 72nd Highlanders, then in garrison at Quebec, and whose hospitalities during my stay I gratefully remember.

If, however, an Englishman feels humiliated in crossing the Quebec ferry, he feels a compensating

satisfaction upon entering the Quebec Legislative Council Chamber, which, in its aspect of cleanliness, furniture, &c., has an appearance of refinement far superior to that at Washington. As they were not sitting during my stay in Canada, I had no opportunity of drawing any comparison on their different modes of carrying on public business. I had heard so much during my absence from England of the famous Rebellion Losses Bill, and all the obloquy which had been heaped upon the Governor-General in consequence, that I was very anxious to get some insight into the true state of the case, although perhaps the justification of the Earl of Elgin's conduct by Sir Robert Peel, ought to have satisfied me.

I soon became convinced that in this, as in most similar cases, the violence of party spirit had clouded truth; and the bitterness of defeat, in minds thus prejudiced, had sought relief in the too common channels of violence and abuse. However much to be deplored, I fear that the foregoing opinions will be found, on most occasions of political excitement, to be true. The old party, who may be said to have enjoyed the undisguised support of the Queen's representatives from time immemorial, were not likely to feel very well disposed to Lord Elgin, when they

found that he was determined to identify himself with no particular party, but that, being sent to govern Canada constitutionally, he was resolved to follow the example of his sovereign, and give his confidence and assistance to whichever party proved, by its majority, to be the legitimate representative of the opinions of the governed, at the same time ever upholding the right and dignity of the Crown. This was, of course, a first step in unpopularity with the party who, long triumphant, now found themselves in a minority; then, again, it must be remembered that a majority which had for so many years been out of power was not likely, in the excitement of victory, to exercise such moderation as would be calculated to soothe the irritated feelings of their opponents, who, they considered had enjoyed too long the colonial loaves and fishes.

With all these elements at work, it is not to be wondered at, that a question which admitted of misinterpretation should be greedily laid hold of, and that, thus misinterpreted, the passions of the mob should be successfully roused. I believe there is little question that the Government brought forward the Rebellion Losses Bill in the Senate in a manner, if not arrogant, at all events most offensive, and thus added fuel to the flames; but viewed dispassionately,

what is the truth of this far-famed bill? It was framed upon the precedent of that for the payment of similar losses in Upper Canada on a previous occasion, and I believe the very same commissioners were appointed to carry out its provisions. It received the sanction of the Governor-General in the same way as all other bills, and was never smuggled through, as the irritated opposition and infuriated mobs would have us believe. The Governor-General clearly states that it was never intended in any way to 'compensate the losses of persons guilty of the heinous crime of treason,' and the names of the commissioners appointed to decide upon the claims of the sufferers might alone have been a sufficient guarantee that such an abominable idea was never entertained. Without mentioning others, take Colonel W. C. Hanson, schooled in the field of honour and patriotism, whose courage has been tried in many a bloody struggle during the Peninsular War, and is attested by the honourable badges that adorn his breast. Is a recreant rebel likely to find sympathy in that breast which for half a century stood unchallenged for loyalty and truth? What do his letters, as one of the commissioners, prove beyond the shadow of a doubt? I have them now before me; and, so far from claims being hastily admitted, I find the gallant old soldier

constantly advocating the cause of some claimant whom the commissioners declined to indemnify, but never yet have I seen his name as opposed to any compensation granted; possessing that still more noble quality which is ever the lovely handmaid of true courage, his voice is raised again and again for mercy.

I could quote from numerous letters of this veteran, extracts similar to the following:—The claimants were inhabitants of St. Benoit, some portion of which population had been in arms as rebels, but upon the approach of the Queen's troops they had all laid down their arms. As to the facts of the case, Colonel Hanson writes to Lord Seaton, who replies:—'The soldiers were regularly put up in the village by the Quartermaster-General's department, and strict orders were issued to each officer to protect the inhabitants and their property; Lieut.-Col. Townsend to remain in the village of St. Benoit for its protection, the remainder of the troops to return to Montreal. The utmost compassion and consideration should be felt for the families of the sufferers plunged into affliction by the reckless conduct of their relatives; every house injured or destroyed at St. Benoit was a wanton destruction, perpetrated in defiance of guards placed to protect property.' Thus writes Lord

Seaton.—Colonel Hanson, after quoting the above, proceeds to state that the evidence before the commissioners proves that 'immediately after Lieut.-Colonel Townsend assembled his regiment for the purpose of marching back to Montreal, the Volunteers from the northern townships commenced plundering the village, carrying off the whole of the effects belonging to the inhabitants, burning the church, and nearly every house in the village . . . . . wilfully and wantonly destroying houses, and in many instances burning valuable barns and granaries. . . . . Therefore I humbly pretend that every such individual who thus suffered should be indemnified, as his loss was a wanton destruction of the dwellings, buildings, property, and effects of the said inhabitants.' Yet such was the jealous way in which the commissioners excluded all doubtful claimants, that Colonel Hanson found himself in a minority upon the consideration of the foregoing claims, and, as a man of honour and anxious for justice, felt it his duty to address a letter to the Governor-General upon the subject, from which letter, bearing date January, 1852, the foregoing extracts have been taken.

I have very many of such complaints of justice being withheld from claimants, in the opinion of the gallant colonel, now lying before me, but '*ex uno*

*disce omnes.*' I have read a great portion of the Report, and the conclusion is irresistibly forced upon my mind, that everything which could possibly be brought to assume the slightest shade of rebellion was made fatal to an applicant's claims; but if anything were wanting to satisfy my mind that the vilifiers of the 'Losses Bill' had not any ground of complaint against the measure, it would be found in the fact, that among its various opponents to whom I spoke, they one and all exclaimed, 'Look at the case of Nelson, absolutely a rebel in arms, and his claims listened to.' This was their invariable reply; and, until I made inquiry, it looked very bad. But what was the real state of the case? Simply, that Nelson having been ruined by his rebellion, many loyal and faithful subjects to whom he owed debts suffered for his faults; and the money awarded for the losses sustained by the rebel went to pay the loyal debtors, except a small portion which was granted to his wife, who was well known to be strongly opposed to the course he had pursued, and who had lost considerable property which she held in her own right. I say, that the fact of Nelson's case being always brought up as the great enormity, carried more conviction to my mind of the utter weakness of the opponents' cause than anything else; and it also

proved to me how ignorant many of them were of the truth, for several who vilified the Bill, the Government, and the Governor-General, had not the slightest idea, till I informed them, how the Nelson award was applied.

There is no doubt that the atrocities of which Montreal was the scene constitute the most discreditable features in modern Canadian history, and which it is to be hoped the instigators to, and actors in, are long since fully ashamed of; nor can the temper and judgment of the Governor-General on this trying occasion be too highly extolled. When it was imperative to dissolve the Parliament, he foresaw that his not doing so in person would be misconstrued by his enemies, and that he would be branded by them with—that most galling of all accusations to a noble heart—cowardice. With a high-minded sense of duty, he put all such personal considerations aside. There were two courses open to him: one, to call out the military, and in their safe keeping dissolve the Assembly; the other, to depute the Commander of the Forces to perform that duty. The former must have produced a collision with the populace, and the blood of many whom he believed to be as loyal as he knew they were misguided and excited would have flowed freely; the latter, he foresaw, would be misconstrued into an act

of personal cowardice, but he knew it would prevent a flow of blood, the remembrance of which would keep alive the bitterest elements of political animosity for years to come. With true patriotism, he sacrificed himself at the shrine of the country he was sent to govern, preferring to be the subject of the most galling accusations, rather than shed unnecessarily one drop of the blood of those committed to his rule.

During the whole of Lord Elgin's able and prosperous administration, I can scarcely conceive any one act of his to which he can look back with more satisfaction, than this triumph of his judgment over his feelings, when he offered up just pride and dignity on the altar of Mercy, and retired to Quebec. A shallow-pated fellow, who had probably figured personally in the outrages of that period, in talking to me on the subject, thus described it,—'He bolted off in a funk to Quebec;' and doubtless hundreds of others, as shallow-pated as himself, had been made to believe such was the case, and vituperation being the easiest of all ignoble occupations, they had probably done their best to circulate the paltry slander. Lord Elgin, however, needs no goose-quill defender; the unprecedented increasing prosperity of the colony under his administration is the most valuable tes-

timony he could desire. It is not every governor who, on his arrival, finding a colony in confusion and rebellion, has the satisfaction, on his resignation of office, of leaving harmony and loyalty in their place, and the revenue during the same period increased from £400,000 to £1,500,000: and if any doubt ever rested upon his mind as to whether his services were approved of and appreciated at home, it must have been removed in the most gratifying manner, when, upon a public dinner being given him at the London Tavern, in 1854, all shades of politicals gathered readily to do him honour; and while the chairman, Lord John Russell, was eulogizing his talents and his administration, five other colonial and ex-colonial ministers were present at the same board to endorse the compliment; the American Minister also bearing his testimony to the happy growth of good feeling between the two countries, which Lord Elgin had so successfully fostered and developed. I cannot recal to my memory any other instance of so great an honour having been paid to a colonial governor.

I was astonished to find so little had been done in Canada for the organization of a militia force, especially when their republican neighbours afford them an example of so much activity and efficiency in that

department. It may not be desirable as yet for the colony to establish any military school, such as West Point, but it might be agreeable and advantageous to the colonists, if we allowed a given number of young men to be educated at each of our military colleges in England; those only being eligible, who, by a severe examination, had proved their capabilities, and whose conduct at the places of their education had been noted as exemplary. By such simple means, a certain amount of military knowledge would gradually be diffused among the colonists, which would render them more efficient to repress internal troubles or repel foreign aggression.

As it may be interesting to some of my readers, I shall here give a slight sketch of the Canadian parliaments. The Legislative Assembly, or House of Commons, is composed of eighty-four members, being forty-two for each province. The qualification for membership is £500, and the franchise 40*s.* freehold, or £7 10*s.* the householder; it is also granted to wealthy leaseholders and to farmers renting largely; the term is for four years, and members are paid £1 per day while sitting, and 6*d.* per mile travelling expenses. The Legislative Council consists of forty members, and is named by the Crown for life. The Cabinet, or Executive Council, are ten in number,

and selected from both Houses by the Governor-General. Their Chancellor of the Exchequer is the Prime Minister. The Canadians wish to do away with the qualification for members of the Assembly, retaining the qualification for the franchise, and to increase the number of members to sixty-five for each province. They also desire to supersede the nomination of the Crown, and to make the Legislative Council elective,[a] with a property qualification of £1000, thirty members for each province; these latter to be elected for six years.

With regard to the proposed change in the Legislative Council, I confess I look upon its supposed advantages—if carried out—with considerable doubt, inasmuch as the electors being the same as those for the other Chamber, it will become merely a lower house, elected for a longer period, and will lose that prestige which might have been obtained by exacting a higher qualification from the electors; then, again, I think the period for which they are elected decidedly too short, being fully convinced that an increase in

[a] Since my return to England the proposed increase in the Legislative Assembly has taken place. The Imperial Government has also empowered the colony to alter the constitution of the Legislative Council, and to render it elective if they thought proper so to do.

duration will usually produce an increase in the respectability of the candidates offering themselves for election; an opinion in which I am fully borne out by many of the wisest heads who assisted in framing the government of the United States, and who deplored excessively the shortness of the period for which the senators were elected.[a] I cannot believe, either, that the removing the power of nomination entirely from the Crown will prove beneficial to the colony. Had the experiment been commenced with the Crown resigning the nomination of one-half of the members, I think it would have been more prudent, and would have helped to keep alive those feelings of association with, and loyalty to, the Crown which I am fully certain the majority of the Canadians deeply feel; a phalanx of senators, removed from all the sinister influences of the periodical political simoons common to all countries would thus have been retained, and the Governor-General would have had the power of calling the highest talent and patriotism to his councils, in those times of political excitement, when the passions of electors are too likely to be enlisted in favour of voluble agitators, who have neither cash nor character to lose. However, as

[a] *Vide* Chapter on the 'Constitution of the United States.'

these questions are to be decided, as far as this country is concerned, by those who probably care but little for my opinions, and as the question is not one likely to interest the general reader, I shall not dilate further upon it.

The subject of emigration being rather dull reading for those who are not interested therein, I have placed a chapter in the Appendix to the first volume, where full information upon the matter will be found, and upon which perfect reliance may be placed, as I have received it direct from the Canadian authorities.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *A Trip to the Uttàwa.*

HAVING spent a fortnight in the enjoyment of lovely scenery and warm hospitality, and taken a last and lingering gaze at the glorious panoramic view from the Citadel, I embarked once more on the St. Lawrence. It was evening; and, as the moon rose bright and clear, the wooded banks and silvered stream formed as charming a picture as the eye of man could wish to rest upon. Morning found us at Montreal. Among my fellow-passengers were two members of the Cabinet, or Executive Council, Mr. Hincks and Mr. Drummond, both on their way to the Ottawa, the commercial importance of that river to the prosperity of the colony, having induced them to take the trip with a view of ascertaining, by actual observation and examination, what steps were most advisable to improve its navigation.

My intention was to start at once for Kingston, but when they kindly asked me to accompany them, I joyfully accepted, and an hour after I landed

at Montreal I was on the rail with my friends, hissing away to Lachine, where the chief office of the Hudson's Bay Company is fixed. There we embarked in a steamer on Lake St. Louis, which is a struggling compound of the dark brown Ottawa and the light blue St. Lawrence. The lake was studded with islands, and the scenery rendered peculiarly lovely by the ever-changing lights and shades from the rising sun. We soon left the St. Lawrence compound and reached that part of the Ottawa,[a] which the poet has immortalized by his beautiful 'Canadian Boat Song.'

St. Anne's is a small village, and the rapids being impassable in low water, they have built a lock to enable steamers to ascend; but fortunately, when we passed, there was sufficient water, and we steamed up the song-famed rapids, above which the river spreads out into the Lake of the Two Mountains. It is proposed to build a railway bridge for the main trunk line, just above the rapids. How utterly the whizzing whistling kettle spoils the poetry of scenery, undeniable though its utility be! There is no doubt

[a] Originally Uttàwa, wherein Moore has shown alike his good taste and respect for antiquity by adhering to the original and more beautiful name.

that the Lake of the Two Mountains has many great beauties; but, whatever they may be, a merciless storm of rain effectually curtained them from us, and we traversed the whole lake to Point Fortune in a mist worthy of the Western Highlands. There we took coach, as the locks at Carillon are not yet large enough for full-sized steamers to pass. The road was alike good and uninteresting, running by the side of the canal, whose banks were here and there enlivened by groups of wild flowers.

A stage of twelve miles brought us to Grenville, where we again took steamer on the Ottawa, and, the weather being finer, we had an opportunity of enjoying the scenery, which is very peculiar. It has none of the wild features of grandeur which one associates with comparatively unknown streams, in a country where all is gigantesque; there is nothing mountainous or craggy, but the banks and hills at the back being luxuriously wooded, and conveying the idea of being well tenanted, the absence of human habitations seems unnnatural, and gives the solitude an air of mystery, only broken at long intervals by a bowered cottage or a wreath of smoke. The most remarkable building is the French château of M. Papineau, very prettily situated on the northern bank, commanding an extensive view of the river, and

looking in its isolation as though its occupant was a second Robinson Crusoe, and monarch of all he surveyed. Night soon buried all scenery in its sable mantle, and, after sixty miles steaming, we reached Bytown, where we found friends and conveyances ready to take us over to Aylmer, there to sleep preparatory to a further excursion up the river early in the morning. As the distance was only eight miles, we were soon at Mr. Egan's hospitable board, from which we speedily retired to rest so as to be ready for the morrow's trip.

Early dawn found us on board and steaming merrily up the glorious stream, which, spreading out very widely, has been lakefied, and is called Lake Chaudière and Du Chêne, thus named, I suppose, because the water is cold and there are few oaks to be seen. Be that as it may, the scenery though possessing neither striking features nor variety, is very pretty and cheerful. A quantity of lovely little villas stud the banks, some ensconced snugly in cosy nooks, others standing out boldly upon the rich greensward; and, for a background, you have full-bosomed hills, rich in forest monarchs, clad in their dense and dark mantles. Suddenly the scene changes, the Chats Falls burst upon the sight; and well does the magnificent view repay the traveller for any diffi-

culty he may have had in his endeavours to reach this spot. About three miles above the rocky and well-wooded island that creates the falls, the river contracts very considerably, and in its rushing impetuosity seems as though it were determined to sweep the whole island into the lake below; then there appears to have been a compromise between the indignant stream and the obstinate island, and the latter seems to have offered up a great portion of its timber at the shrine of peace, and to have further granted various rights of way to its excited neighbour. The river seems to have taken advantage of both these concessions very largely, but it appears that in nature, as it often occurs in politics, concessions only breed increased demands, and the ungrateful Ottawa, while sweeping away forest timber and baring the granite rock in a dozen different channels, thunders its foaming waters along with an angry voice, ever crying 'More, more.'

I never saw anything more beautiful than these falls; they are generally from twenty to forty feet broad, and about the same in height; but from the shape of the island you cannot see them all at once; and as you steam along there is a continual succession of them, each revealing some new beauty. It was at this place that I for the first time saw a slide for the

descent of lumber, to which I shall have to refer hereafter. For many years the porterage of goods across this island to the Ottawa above — which is called Lake Chats—was a work of much difficulty and expense. Mr. E., with that enterprise and energy which mark his character, got two friends of kindred spirit to join him, and made a railway across, about three miles and a half long. It is a single line, constructed upon piles, and the car is rattled over at a jolly pace by two spicy ponies. As the piles are in some places from twenty to thirty feet in the air, it looks nervous work; and if one of the ponies bolted, it might produce a serious accident; but they seem aware of the danger, and trot away as steadily as an engine if not quite so rapidly.

On reaching the north-western end of the island, another steamer was waiting for us, and we again breasted the stream of the Ottawa. After passing the first three miles, which, as before mentioned, are very narrow, and thus produce that additional impetus which ends in the lovely Chats Falls, the river opens out into the Lake. The shores are low and with a gentle rise, and there is comparatively little appearance of agricultural activity, the settler having found the ground at the back of the rise better suited for farming purposes.

Some distance up the lake, and close to its margin, is the farm of Mr. McDonnell, thus forming an exception to the general rule. His residence is an excessively pretty cottage, commanding a grand panoramic view. Here we stopped to pay a visit to the energetic old Highlander and his family, and to enjoy his hospitalities. If he is to be taken as a specimen of the salubrity of the climate, I never saw so healthy a place. He came here as a lad to push his fortunes, with nothing but a good axe and a stout heart. He has left fifty summers far behind him; he looks the embodiment of health, and he carries his six feet two inches in a way that might well excite the envy of a model drill-sergeant; and when he took my hand to welcome me, I felt all my little bones scrunching under his iron grasp, as if they were so many bits of pith.

I could not help contrasting the heartiness of his welcome with the two stiff fingers which in highly civilized life are so often proffered either from pride or indifference; and though he did very nearly make me cry 'Enough,' I would a thousand times rather suffer and enjoy his hearty grasp than the cold formality of conventional humbug. The hardy old pioneer has realized a very comfortable independence, and he tells me his only neighbours are a band of his coun-

trymen at the back of the hill, who speak Gaelic exclusively and scarce know a word of English. They mostly came out with 'The Macnab,' but from time to time they are refreshed by arrivals from the Old Country.

Having a long day's work before us, we were enabled to make but a short stay, so, bidding him and his family a sincere good-bye and good speed, we renewed our journey. We soon came in sight of the black stumpy monuments of one of the most disastrous conflagrations which ever victimized a forest. Some idea may be formed of the ravages of the 'devouring element,' from the simple fact that it all but totally consumed every stick of timber covering a space of forty-five miles by twenty-five; and the value of what was thus destroyed may be partially estimated, when it is considered that one good raft of timber is worth from three to five thousand pounds. These rafts, which are seen dotted about the lake in every direction, have a very pretty effect, with their little distinguishing flags floating in the breeze, some from the top of a pole, some from the top of the little shanty in which their hardy navigators live; and a dreary, fatiguing, and dangerous career it must be; but Providence, in his mercy, has so constituted man, that habit grows into a new nature; and these hardy sons of creation sing as merrily, smile as cheerfully, smoke

as calmly, and unquestionably sleep as soundly, as any veteran in idleness, though pampered with luxuries, and with a balance at his banker's which he is at a loss how to squander.

These sons of toil bear practical testimony to the truth of what the late lamented Sir J. Franklin always declared to be his conviction, from long experience, viz., that the use of spirits is enfeebling rather than invigorating to those who have to work in the most severe climates. The Lumberers are nearly all teetotallers, and I am told they declare that they find their health bettered, their endurance strengthened, their muscles hardened, and their spirits enlivened by the change. If this be so, and if we find that the natives of warm climates are, as a mass, also teetotallers, and that when they forsake their temperance colours they deteriorate and eventually disappear, I fear we must come to the conclusion, that however delicious iced champagne or sherry-cobbler may be, or however enjoyable 'a long pull at the pewter pot,' they are not in any way necessary to health or cheerfulness, and that like all actions they have their reactions, and thus create a desire for their repetition, until by habit they become a second nature, to the great comfort and consolation of worthy wine merchants and fashionable medical men, whose balance-sheets would suffer about equally

by the discontinuance of their use; not to mention the sad effects of their misuse, as daily exhibited in police reports, and other features, if possible worse, which the records of 'hells' would reveal.

So strong does the passion become, that I know of a lady who weighs nearly a ton, and is proud of displaying more of her precious substance than society generally approves of, in whom the taste 'for a wee drop' is so strong, that, to enable her to gratify it more freely, she has the pleasure of paying two medical men a guinea each daily, to stave off as long as they can its insidious attacks upon her gigantic frame. You must not, however, suppose that I am a teetotaller. I have tried it, and never found myself better than while practising it; still I never lose a chance if a bottle of iced champagne is circulating, for I confess—I love it dearly.

Pardon this digression.—We are again on the Ottawa; as we advance, the river narrows and becomes studded with little islands covered with wild shrubs and forest trees, from whose stiff unyielding boughs the more pliant shoots droop playfully into the foaming stream below, like the children of Gravity coquetting with the family of Passion. Of course these islands form rapids in every direction; we soon approach the one selected as the channel in which to

try our strength. On we dash boldly—down rushes the stream with a roar of defiance; arrived midway, a deadly struggle ensues between boiling water and running water; we tremble in the balance of victory—the rushing waters triumph; we sound a retreat, which is put in practice with the caution of a Xenophon, and down we glide into the stiller waters below.

Poke the fires,—pile the coals. Again we dash onwards—again we reach midway—again the moment of struggle—again the ignominy of defeat—again the council of war in the stiller waters below. We now summon all our energies, determined that defeat shall but nerve us to greater exertion. We go lower down, so as to obtain greater initial velocity; the fires are made to glow one spotless mass of living heat. Again the charge is sounded: on we rush, our little boat throbbing from stem to stern; again the angry waters roar defiance—again the deadly struggle—again for a moment we tremble in the balance of victory. Suddenly a universal shout of triumph is heard, and as the joyous cheers die in echoes through the forest, we are breasting the smoother waters of the Ottawa above the rapids.

This is all very well on paper, but I assure you it was a time of intense excitement to us; if in the moment of deadly struggle the tiller ropes had broken,

or the helmsman had made one false turn of the wheel, we might have got across the boiling rapids, and then good-bye to sublunary friends; our bones might have been floating past Quebec before the news of our destruction had reached it.

The Ottawa is by no means the only channel in these parts for conveying the produce of the lumberer's toil; there are tributaries innumerable, affording hundreds of miles of raft navigation; so that an almost indefinite field for their labour is open, and years, if not centuries, must elapse before the population can increase sufficiently to effect any very material inroad on these all but inexhaustible forests.

After proceeding a few miles beyond the scene of our late severe struggle, we reached the little village of Portage du Fort, above which the rapids are perfectly impassable. The inhabitants of this little wild forest community are not very numerous, as may be supposed, and the only object of interest is a flour-mill, which supplies the lumberers for many miles, both above and below. Our little steamer being unable to ascend higher, we were compelled to make a Scotchman's cruise of it—'There and bock agin.' So, turning our head eastward, we bowled along merrily with the stream, dashing down our late antagonist like a flash of lightning, then across the lake, and

through a fleet of bannered rafts, till we landed on the Chats Falls Island, where we found our ponies ready to whisk us along the mid-air railway. Re-embarking on the steamer of the morning, we found a capital dinner ready for us, and ere the shades of evening had closed in, we were once more enjoying the hospitalities of Aylmer.

Aylmer has only a population of 1100 inhabitants, but they are not idle. The house of Mr. E. does business with the lumberers to the tune of £200,000 annually, and supplies them with 15,000 lbs. of tea every year. Grog-shops are at a discount in these parts. The increasing prosperity of this neighbourhood is mainly owing to the energy and enterprise of Mr. Egan and his friend M. Aumond. It was by these two gentlemen that the steam-boats were put on the lakes, and the rail made across the island. Everybody feels how much the facility of conveyance has increased the prosperity of this locality; and the value of Mr. E.'s services is honourably recognised, by his unopposed election as the representative of the district. Having had a good night's rest and taken in a substantial breakfast, we started off on our return to Bytown, which city may be considered as the head-quarters of the lumberers.

The ground upon which the greater part of Bytown

stands, was offered some years since to a servant, as payment for a debt of £70; he found the bargain so bad, that he tried to get out of it. The value of the same land is now estimated at £200,000!!! As late as 1826, there was not one stone put upon another; now the population is 10,000, and steadily increasing. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the panoramic view from the verge of the Barrack Hill, which is a dark frowning perpendicular rock several hundred feet high. To the west are the Chaudière Falls, 200 feet broad and 60 feet high, irregular in shape, and broken here and there by rocks, around which the rapids leap in unceasing frenzy, ere they take their last plunge into the maddened gulf below, thence rolling their dark waters beneath your feet. Below the falls the river is spanned by a very light and beautiful suspension bridge. This part of the scene is enlivened by the continual descent of timber rafts rushing down the slides, skilfully guided by their hardy and experienced navigators. Around you is a splendid expanse of waving field and sombre forest, far as the eye can stretch, and bounded towards the north by mountains looming and half lost in distance, whence comes the mighty Gatineau—a watery highway for forest treasure, threading its course like a stream of liquid silver as the sun's rays dance upon its bosom,—the

whole forming one of the most beautiful panoramas imaginable.

No place was ever better calculated for the capital of a great country. Bordering upon Upper and Lower Canada, only twelve hours from Montreal, easily capable of defence, with a trade increasing in value as rapidly as the source thereof is inexhaustible, at the confluence of two rivers whose banks are alike rich in timber and arable land, requiring but nineteen miles of lockage to unite the St. Lawrence, the Ottawa, and the Gatineau with the boundless inland lakes of America, possessing the magnificent Rideau Canal, which affords a ready transport down to Kingston on Lake Ontario, rich with scenery unsurpassed in beauty and grandeur, and enjoying a climate as healthy as any the world can produce, Nature seems to have marked out Bytown as the site for a Canadian metropolis. In short, were I a prophet instead of a traveller, I should boldly predict that such it must be some day, if Canada remain united and independent.

I must here explain the slides for lumber, before alluded to. In days gone by, all lumber was shot down the rapids, to find its way as best it could, the natural consequence being that large quantities were irrecoverably lost. It occurred to Mr. Wright that

this waste of toil and timber might be obviated, and he accordingly, after great labour and expense, succeeded in inventing what is termed a slide—in other words, an inclined wooden frame—upon which a certain number of the huge logs that compose a portion of a raft can be floated down together in perfect security, under the guidance of one or two expert men. The invention answered admirably, as is proved by the fact that, through its instrumentality, timber which formerly took two seasons to reach Quebec, now does so in five months. Like many other inventors, I fear Mr. Wright has not received justice at the hands of the Government, who, by building slides of their own, and granting advantages to those who use them, have thus removed the traffic from Mr. Wright's—an injustice which it is to be hoped it is not too late to repair; at all events, the Imperial legislature, which felt bound to vote £4000 to a man that invented a machine for making little holes between penny stamps, on the ground of commercial utility, must agree with me that it is unworthy of a lumbering colony to neglect the claims of a man, whose invention has proved to be a benefit to the lumber trade, absolutely beyond calculation.

The chief proprietor at Bytown is the Hon. Mr.

Mackay, and of his career in Canada he may indeed be justly proud. Arriving in the country as a labourer without a friend, he has, by his integrity and intellectual capability, fought his way up nobly to the highest position in the colony, and is one of the most respected members of the Legislative Council. Nor has he, while battling for senatorial honours, neglected his more material interests, and the energy he has brought to bear upon them has been rewarded to his heart's desire. He has a charming little country place, called Rideau Hall, about three miles out of town, and is the owner of several carding, saw, and flour-mills, besides an extensive cloth factory, from the produce of which I am at this moment most comfortably clad. Mr. Mackay's career may fairly be termed a useful colonial monument, to encourage the aspirations of noble ambition, and to scourge the consciences of those drones who always see 'a lion in the way.' We had the pleasure of enjoying his hospitalities at a grand breakfast which he gave in honour of my two travelling friends, who were, I believe, the first members of the Executive Council, that had been here for very many years.

One object of their present visit was to ascertain, from personal observation and inquiry, how far it was desirable the Government should grant money, for

the purpose of making any of the locks requisite to connect the Ottawa, &c., with Montreal and Quebec. I cannot for an instant doubt their being most thoroughly convinced both of its perfect practicability and of its immense importance. It only requires the construction of nineteen miles of canal, to complete an unbroken water communication from Quebec to the Ottawa and all its gigantic tributaries, extending even to Lake Temiscaming; and if a canal were cut from this latter to Lake Nipissing, the communication would then be complete through the heart of Canada across all the inland ocean waters of the American continent, and thence to New York *viâ* Erie Canal and Hudson, or to New Orleans *viâ* Illinois Canal, river, and Mississippi. Already £50,000 have been voted for this purpose, and this first instalment is mainly due to the energy of Mr. Egan. As a mark of respect for their representative, he was to be honoured with a public dinner, at which my two companions of the Executive Council were to attend. Unfortunately, my time was limited, and I was obliged to decline participating in the compliment which Mr. Egan had so well earned; so, bidding adieu to my friends, and casting one last and lingering glance at that glorious panorama — the remembrance of which time can never efface, I got into an

open shay, and began prosecuting my solitary way towards Prescott.

I left the hotel as the guests were all arriving, and the fumes of the coming feast proclaiming, in the most appetizing way, the object of their meeting. I had two hours' daylight still left, and thus was enabled to see a little of that part of the neighbourhood, which alone was concealed when standing on the Barrack-hill; the more I saw of it, the more convinced was I of the peculiar adaptation of Bytown for a great city; the ground is admirably suited for building, and possesses a water-power which is inexhaustible. My road, as may naturally be supposed in a new country, lay through alternations of forest and cultivation; if it was not well macadamized, at least it was far better than I had expected, and there is some pleasure in being agreeably disappointed, and able to jog along without eternally bumping in some deep rut, which shakes the ash off your cigar inside your waistcoat. Here and there, of course, I came across a break-neck tract, but that only made the contrast more enjoyable.

At half-past twelve at night the little horses began to feel the effect of six hours' work, so I stopped at a tolerably miserable wayside inn for four hours, which was distributed between washing, feeding, and sleep-

ing. Sharp work, but I was anxious to catch the steamer; so snatching what rest I could out of that brief period, and hoping the horses had done the same, I was again *en route* at 5 A.M., and by great exertions reached Prescott in good time to learn that the steamer had started half an hour before my arrival. I consoled myself, as well as I could, with a washing basin, a tea-pot, and auxiliaries. I then went to look at the town, which consists of about three streets, and 3000 inhabitants, so that operation was accomplished without trouble, interest, or much loss of time. Ascertaining that if I went over to Ogdensburg, I could catch a steamer at 2 P.M., I ferried across instanter, wishing to get a look at Brother Jonathan's town before starting. A comparison between the two was not flattering to my national vanity. Instead of finding a population of 3000, with no indications of progress, I found a population of 8000, with go-aheadism in all quarters; large houses, large streets, and active prosperity stamped on everything. Doubtless this disparity is greatly owing to the railway, by which the latter is connected with the whole State of New York, and also from the want of reciprocity. Nevertheless, there is a stamp of energy at Ogdensburg, which the most careless observer cannot but see is wanting at Prescott.

Mr. Parish is the great proprietor at the former of these towns, and is said to be a man of considerable wealth, which he appears to be employing alike usefully and profitably—viz., in reclaiming from the lake a piece of land, about four hundred square yards, adjoining the railway terminus, by which means vessels will be able to unload readily on his new wharf; the reclaimed ground will thereby acquire an enormous value for storehouses.

Having finished my observations, and been well baked by a vertical sun, I embarked at 2 P.M. Lovely weather and lovely scenery.

The village of Brockville is very prettily situated on the banks of the lake, and is considered one of the prettiest towns in Canada. Continuing our course, numberless neat little villages and lovely villas appear from time to time, but when fairly on the Lake of The Thousand Isles, the scenery is altogether charming, and some new beauty is constantly bursting into view. Upon the present occasion the scene was rendered more striking, by the perfect reflection of all the islands upon the burnished bosom of the glassy lake. We reached Cape Vincent towards evening, and, changing into another steamer, landed safely at Kingston about ten at night, where, finding a young artillery friend, I was soon immersed in that

most absorbing of all pleasures to one long from home—viz., talking over old friends and old scenes, until you feel as though you were among both of them. Night, however, has its claims upon man, and being honest, I discharged my obligation by going to bed as the tell-tale clock struck three.

Kingston is but a small place, though once of considerable importance. The population is about 12,000. In the year 1841, Lord Sydenham having removed the seat of Government from Toronto to Kingston, the inhabitants expended large sums of money in the expectation that it would so continue, but, in 1844, it was removed back again, and consequently a very heavy loss was incurred by those who had laid out their money. It is this eternal shifting about of the seat of Government—the disadvantage of which must be manifest to every one—that makes me hope Bytown, the position of which is so central, may some day be decided upon as the city to enjoy that honour permanently. However much Kingston may be recovering itself, and I was told it is, I must confess that, despite its cathedral, colleges, university, and other fine buildings, which it undoubtedly possesses, the grass in the streets and lanes, the pigs and the cows feeding about in all directions, made me feel ashamed, especially when

I thought of young Ogdensburg, which I had so lately left. Taking into consideration the extent of lake communication which it enjoys, and that by the magnificent Rideau Canal the whole country of the Ottawa is open to it, I must say, that I consider the state of Kingston the strongest reflection upon the energy and enterprise of the population. The finest view is from the Citadel, which commands a splendid panoramic expanse; the fortifications are in good repair, and garrisoned by Canadian Rifles and a few Royal Artillerymen. One of the objects I should have had most interest in visiting was the Provincial Penitentiary, the arrangements of which I had heard were admirable; but, as I had no time to see them, the reader is saved the details.

At 3 P.M., I was again steaming away on Lake Ontario, which soon spreads out into an open sea. The boat was tolerably good and clean, and the food to match, but it was served down below; the cabin was therefore very stuffy. I selected a bed with great care, and in due time got into it, quite delighted with my carefully chosen position, and soon buried my nose in the pillow, full of peaceful hopes. Luckless mortal! scarce had my nose extracted the cold from its point of contact with the pillow-case, when a sound came rushing forth with a violence which shook not

only me and my bed, but the whole cabin. The tale is soon told. I had built my nest at the muzzle of the whistle of the engine, and as they made a point of screeching forth the moment anything appeared in sight, you may guess that I had a pleasant night of it, and have scrupulously avoided repeating the experiment in any subsequent steam excursions. Having nobody to blame but myself, I lost the little satisfaction I might have had in abusing somebody else, and calling him a stupid ass for making such a choice. However, as a matter of justice I abused myself, and the point being beyond dispute, no rejoinder was put in. Pleased with the candour of my confession, I caught such snatches of rest as the engineer and his whistle in mercy vouchsafed me—the next morning we were in Toronto.

## CHAPTER V.

### *Colonial Education and Prosperity.*

TORONTO is prettily situated, and looks flourishing and prosperous; the way in which property is increasing in value here is wonderful, and the hits some people have made are quite fabulous. A property which had been bought for £30,000, was, within a month—before even the price was paid in full—resold in lots for £100,000. The position of the town is admirably adapted for a great commercial city; it possesses a secure harbour; it is situated on a lake about 190 miles long by 50 broad; thence the St. Lawrence carries its produce to the ocean, and the Rideau canal connects it with the lumberers' home on the Ottawa; the main trunk line of railway—which will extend from the Western point of the colony to Halifax—passes through it; a local line—traversing some of the richest land in Canada—is now in progress to Lake Simcoe and Lake Huron; one iron horse already affords it communication with Waterloo—nearly opposite Buffalo—from whence produce descends by the

Erie Canal and the Hudson to New York; besides all which advantages, it enjoys at present the privilege of being one of the seats of government and the radiating point of education. Surely, then, if any town in Upper Canada ought to flourish, it is Toronto; nor is there, I trust, any reason to doubt that it will become a most wealthy and important place. The influence of the young railways is already beginning to be felt; the population which in 1851 was only 25,000, amounted in 1853 to upwards of 30,000, and is still rapidly increasing. Having been fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of Mr. Cumberland, the chief engineer of the line of railway to Lake Simcoe, he was kind enough to ask me to accompany him to that lake on a trip of inspection, an offer of which I gladly availed myself. I was delighted to find that the Canadians had sufficient good sense to patronize first and second class carriages; and also, that they have begun to make their own carriages and locomotives. The rails appeared very solidly laid down, and the road fenced off; but despite the fences, an inquisitive cow managed to get on the line, and was very near being made beef of in consequence. The progress of cultivation gave the most satisfactory evidence of increasing prosperity, while the virgin forest-land told what a rich harvest was still in store for the industrious emigrant.

Ever and anon you saw on the cleared ground that feature so peculiar to American scenery, a patriarchal remnant of the once dense forest, as destitute of branches as the early Adam was of small-clothes, his bark sabled by the flames, the few summit leaves—which alone indicated vitality—scarce more in number than the centuries he could boast, and trembling, as it were, at their perilous weight and doubtful tenure, while around him stood stumps more sabled, on whom the flames had done more deadly work, the whole—when the poetry had passed away—reminding one of a black Paterfamilias standing proudly in the centre of his nigger brood.

There is a good iron-foundry established here, which turns out some excellent engines. Some of the public buildings are also fine; but there being unfortunately no quarries in the neighbourhood, they are built of brick. The Lunatic Asylum is one of the best, but it is surrounded with a high prison-looking wall, which I believe modern experience condemns strongly as exercising a baneful influence upon the unfortunate patients. If it be so, let us hope it may be enclosed by something more light, airy, and open.

Several of the churches are very fine. I visited the Episcopal Church, which has been burnt down three times, and on my remarking to the architect the

apparent clumsiness of the pews, which destroyed the effect inside, he smiled, and told me that by the contract he was obliged to replace them exactly as before. I told him I thought it was a specimen of conservatism run mad, to which he fully assented. Trinity Episcopal College is one of the finest edifices in the neighbourhood; at present it contains only thirty-five students, but it is to be hoped its sphere of usefulness may be extended as its funds increase. It has the foundation of a very good library, which is rapidly extending; the University of Cambridge sent them out a magnificent addition of 3000 volumes. The last building I shall mention is the Normal School, to visit which was one of my chief objects in stopping at Toronto.

The ceremony of laying the foundation stone of this building was inaugurated with all due solemnity, and under the auspices of the able representative of our gracious Queen, on the 2nd of July, 1851. In his eloquent speech on that memorable occasion, when referring to the difficulties on the question of religious instruction, the following beautiful passage occurs:—

'I understand, sir, that while the varying views and opinions of a mixed religious society are scrupulously respected, while every semblance of dictation is carefully avoided, it is desired, it is earnestly recommended,

it is confidently expected and hoped, that every child who atends our common schools shall learn there that he is a being who has an interest in eternity as well as in time; that he has a Father towards whom he stands in a closer and more affecting and more endearing relationship than to any earthly father, and that Father is in heaven; that he has a hope far transcending every earthly hope—a hope full of immortality—the hope, namely, that that Father's kingdom may come; that he has a duty which, like the sun in our celestial system, stands in the centre of his moral obligations, shedding upon them a hallowing light which they in their turn reflect and absorb,—the duty of striving to prove by his life and conversation the sincerity of his prayer that that Father's will may be done upon earth as it is in heaven. I understand, sir, that upon the broad and solemn platform which is raised upon that good foundation, we invite the ministers of religion of all denominations—the *de facto* spiritual guides of the people of the country—to take their stand along with us; that, so far from hampering or impeding them in the exercise of their sacred functions, we ask, and we beg them to take the children—the lambs of the flock which are committed to their care—aside, and lead them to those pastures and streams where they will find, as they believe it, the food of life and the waters of consolation.

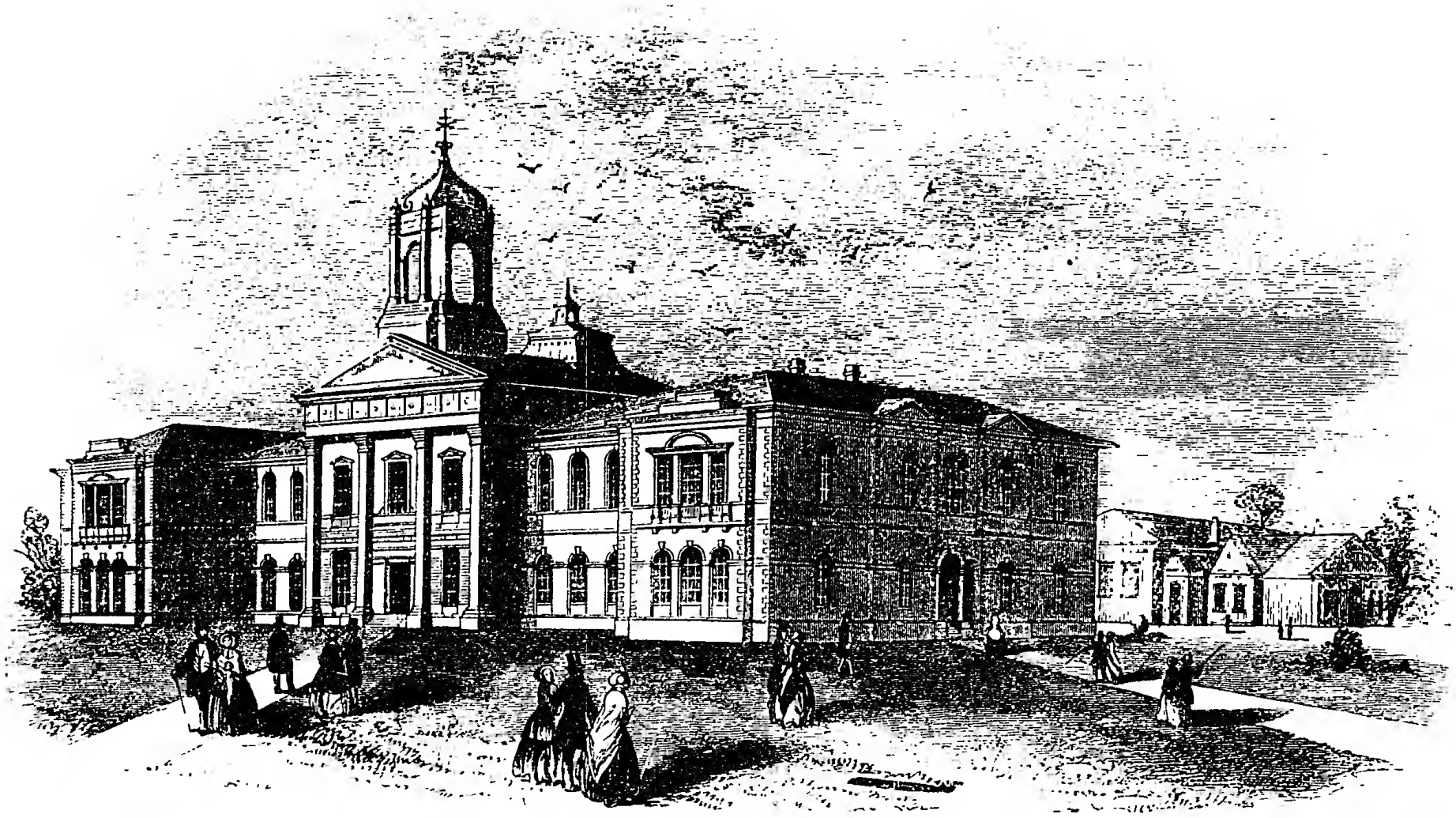
* * * * *

'Permit me in conclusion, to say, both as an humble Christian man and as the head of the civil government of the province, that it gives me unfeigned pleasure to perceive that the youth of this country, of

all denominations, who are destined in their maturer years to meet in the discharge of the duties of civil life upon terms of perfect civil and religious equality —I say it gives me pleasure to hear and to know that they are receiving an education which is fitted so well to qualify them for the discharge of those important duties, and that while their hearts are yet tender and their affections yet green and young, they are associated under conditions which are likely to promote among them the growth of those truly Christian graces—mutual respect, forbearance, and charity.'

The position of the building is well chosen, being surrounded with cultivated ground sufficiently extensive to be usefully employed in illustrating the lectures given on vegetable physiology and agricultural chemistry.[a] The rooms are all very lofty, airy, and scrupulously clean ; a notice at the entrance warns you, 'The dirty practice of spitting not allowed in this building;' and as far as eye could discern, the notice is rigidly obeyed. I was told that a specific had been found to cure the filthy habit. I mention it for the benefit of hotel-keepers and railway conductors, in all places where such a relic of barbarism may still find a welcome. On a certain occasion, the lecturer having received undeniable proof that one of the students had violated the before-mentioned regu-

[a] Some idea of the useful practical information taught in these lectures may be formed by a reference to the *Appendix C.*



Normal School, Toronto.

lation, stopped in the middle of one of his sublimest flights, repeated sonorously the notice, called the culprit by name, informed him that his endeavour to dissipate his filth into infinity by the sole of his shoe was useless, and ordered him forthwith to take his handkerchief out and wipe it up clean. Disobedience was explusion: with crimson cheek he expiated his offence by obedience to the order, and doubtless during the hushed silence in which he completed his labour, he became a confirmed anti-expectorationist.

Great attention is very properly paid to cleanliness, inasmuch as if these young men, who are destined to teach others, acquire filthy habits, they naturally encourage the same vice in their pupils, and thus may be almost said to nationalize it. All the tables and stools are fitted like those in the schools of the United States, which is an immense improvement on the one long desk and long form to match, which predominate all but universally at home. The instruction given is essentially by lecture and questioning, and I was particularly struck with the quiet modulated tones in which the answers were given, and which clearly proved how much pains were taken upon this apparently trifling, but really very important, point.[a] You

[a] My observations at various schools in the United States satisfied me that no attention is paid by the teachers to the tone of voice in which the boys give their answers.

heard no harsh declamation grating on your ear, and, on the other hand, you were not lulled to sleep by dreary, dull monotony.

There are two small schools attached to the establishment, for these Normal aspirants, male and female, to practise upon, when considered sufficiently qualified. Those thus employed during my visit seemed to succeed admirably, for I never saw more merry, cheerful faces, which I consider one of the best tests of a master's efficiency. The little girls, taking a fancy for music, purchased among themselves a cottage piano, which being their own instrument, I have no doubt increased their interest in the study amazingly. The boys have a kind of gymnasium under a shed, which, when released from school, they rush to with an avidity only equalled by that which the reader may have experienced in his early days when catching sight of a pastry-cook's shop immediately after receiving his first tip.[a]

I believe that to this establishment, which was founded in 1846, belongs the honour of being The Pioneer Normal School in the western hemisphere. But while giving due credit to the governor-general and the government for their leading parts in its

[a] The females are regularly taught calisthenics, and the boys gymnastics, by a professor.

foundation, it should never be forgotten how much indebted the establishment is to the unwearying zeal and patient investigations of Dr. Ryerson, the chief superintendent of schools in Canada. This gentleman carefully examined the various systems and internal arrangement of scholastic establishments, not only all over the States, but in every country of the Old World, selecting from each those features which seemed to produce the most comfort, the best instruction, and the greatest harmony. The result of his inquiries I subjoin from his own pen:—

'Our system of public elementary instruction is eclectic, and is to a considerable extent derived from four sources. The conclusions at which the present head of the department arrived during his observations and investigations of 1845, were, firstly: That the machinery, or law part of the system, in the State of New York, was the best upon the whole, appearing, however, defective in the intricacy of some of its details, in the absence of an efficient provision for the visitation and inspection of schools, the examination of teachers, religious instruction, and uniform text-books for the schools. Secondly: That the principle of supporting schools in the State of Massachusetts was the best, supporting them all according to property, and opening them to all without distinction; but that the application of this principle should not be made by the requirements of state or provincial statute, but at the discretion and by the action, from year to year, of the inhabitants in each

school municipality—thus avoiding the objection which might be made against an uniform coercive law on this point, and the possible indifference which might in some instances be induced by the provisions of such a law—independent of local choice and action. Thirdly: That the series of elementary text-books, prepared by experienced teachers and revised and published under the sanction of the National Board of Education in Ireland, were as a whole the best adapted to schools in Upper Canada—having long been tested, having been translated into several languages of the continent of Europe, and having been introduced more extensively than any other series of text-books into the schools of England and Scotland. Fourthly: That the system of normal-school training of teachers, and the principles and modes of teaching which were found to exist in Germany, and which have been largely introduced into other countries, were incomparably the best—the system which makes school-teaching a profession, which, at every stage, and in every branch of knowledge, teaches things and not merely words, which unfolds and illustrates the principles of rules, rather than assuming and resting upon their verbal authority, which developes all the mental faculties instead of only cultivating and loading the memory—a system which is solid rather than showy, practical rather than ostentatious, which prompts to independent thinking and action rather than to servile imitation

'Such are the sources from which the principal features of the school system in Upper Canada have been derived, though the application of each of them has

been modified by the local circumstances of our country. There is another feature, or rather cardinal principle of it, which is rather indigenous than exotic, which is wanting in the educational systems of some countries, and which is made the occasion and instrument of invidious distinctions and unnatural proscriptions in other countries; we mean the principle of not only making Christianity the basis of the system, and the pervading element of all its parts, but of recognizing and combining, in their official character, all the clergy of the land, with their people, in its practical operations—maintaining absolute parental supremacy in the religious instruction of their children, and upon this principle providing for it according to the circumstances, and under the auspices of the elected trustee-representatives of each school municipality. The clergy of the country have access to each of its schools; and we know of no instance in which the school has been made the place of religious discord, but many instances, especially on occasions of quarterly public examinations, in which the school has witnessed the assemblage and friendly intercourse of clergy of various religious persuasions, and thus become the radiating centre of a spirit of Christian charity and potent co-operation in the primary work of a people's civilization and happiness.'

With reference to religious instruction at the normal schools, Dr. Ryerson has kindly furnished me with the following statement:—'A part of each Friday afternoon is set apart for this purpose, and a room allowed for the minister of each of the religious persuasions of

the students, to give instruction to the members of his church, who are required to attend, as also to attend the service of such church at least once every Sunday. Hitherto, we have found no difficulty, reluctance, or neglect, in giving full effect to this system.'

The only difficulty in these matters that I have heard of, is a long dispute with the Roman Catholic bishop of Toronto; but such an event one must be prepared for, when dealing with a church which claims infallibility. I have no doubt the tact and moderation of Dr. Ryerson have ere this thrown oil on the troubled waters, and restored the harmony which existed between the former Roman bishop and the reverend doctor. To those who take an interest in education, the report of the system used in Canada, drawn up by Dr. Ryerson, and printed by order of the Legislative Assembly, will afford much pleasure and information; it is of course far too large a subject to enter upon in these pages, containing, as it does, so vast an amount of matter worthy of serious reflection. I will, however, indulge such of my friends as were taught to read in the last century, with a quotation from page 67, which will probably astonish them.

Mr. Horace Mann, so long the able Secretary of the Board of Education in Massachusetts, after pointing out the absurdity of worrying a child's life out, in

teaching the A B C, &c., and their doubtful and often-varying sounds utterly destitute of meaning, instead of words which have distinct sounds and distinct meaning, thus winds up:—'Learning his letters, therefore, gives him no new sound; it even restricts his attention to a small number of those he already knows. So far, then, the learning of his letters contracts his practice, and were it not for keeping up his former habits of speaking, at home and in the play-ground, the teacher during the six months or year, in which he confines him to the twenty-six sounds of the alphabet, would pretty near deprive him of the faculty of speech.'

This extract, from the pen of one who has devoted so much talent and patient investigation to the subject of education, entitles it to the serious consideration of all those who are in any way connected with the same subject in this country, where the old A B C cramming all but universally prevails.—But to return to Upper Canada and its schools. Some estimate of the value of its scholastic establishments may be formed from the fact, that while its sphere of usefulness is rapidly extending, it has already reached the following honourable position: The population of Upper Canada is close upon 1,000,000; the number of children between the ages of 5 and 16 is 263,000;

the number of children on the rolls of the common school establishments is 179,587; and the grand total of money available for these glorious purposes, is £176,000. I feel conscious that I have by no means done full justice to this important subject; but the limits of a work like this render it impossible so to do. Let it suffice to say, that Upper Canada is inferior to none of its neighbouring rivals, as regards the quality of instruction given, and that it is rapidly treading on the heels of the most liberal of them, as regards the amount raised for its support. The normal school I conceive to be a model as nearly perfect as human agency has yet achieved; and the chemical and agricultural lectures there given, and practically illustrated on the small farm adjoining the building, cannot fail to produce most useful and important results in a young uncultivated country possessing the richest soil imaginable. The Governor-General and the Government deserve every credit for the support and encouragement they have given to education; but if I may draw a comparison without being invidious, I would repeat, that it is to the unusual zeal and energy of Dr. Ryerson, to his great powers of discriminating and selecting what he found most valuable in the countless methods he examined, and to his combination and adaptation of

them, that the colony is mainly indebted for its present admirable system. Well may Upper Canada be proud of her educational achievements, and in her past exertions read a hopeful earnest of a yet more noble future.[a]

But it is not in education alone that Canada has been shadowing forth a noble career. Emancipated from maternal apron-strings by a constitutional self-government, and aided by the superior administrative powers of the Earl of Elgin, she has exhibited an innate vitality which had so long been smothered by imperial misrule as to cause a doubt of its existence; and if she has not shown it by the birth of populous cities, she has proved it by a more general and diffusive prosperity. A revenue quadrupled in four years needs no Chicagos or Buffalos to endorse the colony's claims to energy and progress. Internal improvements have also been undertaken on a large scale: railways are threading their iron bands through waste and forest, and connecting in one link all the North American colonies; the tubular bridge at Montreal will be the most stupendous work yet un-

[a] These remarks were made in 1853. The report for the year 1854 is now lying before me, by which I find that the attendance has increased to 194.376; and the money raised has also increased in a similar ratio, being at that date £199,674.

dertaken by engineering skill; canals are making a safe way for commerce, where a year or two back the roaring rapid threw its angry barrier. Population, especially in Upper Canada, is marching forward with hasty strides; the value of property is fast increasing; loyalty has supplanted discontent and rebellion; an imperial baby has become a princely colony, with as national an existence as any kingdom of the Old World.[a] These are facts upon which the colonists may, and do, look with feelings of both pride and satisfaction; and none can more justly contemplate them with such emotions, than those through whose administrative talents these prosperous results have

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[a] Population of Canada, . . 1841, 1,156,139 } Increase
Ditto ditto . . 1851, 1,842,265 } 59·34 per cent.

Population of Upper Canada, 1841, 465·357 } Increase
Ditto ditto 1851, 952,004 } 104·57 per cent.

The increase of the United States from 1840 to 1850 was only 37·77 per cent.

Wheat crop, Upper Canada, 1841 ... 3,221,991 bushels.
Ditto ditto 1851 ... 12,692,852 ditto.
Wheat crop, Lower Canada, 1841 ... 1,021,405 bushels.
Ditto ditto 1851 ... 3,326,190 ditto.

This table is taken from an able statement sent by the Governor-General to the Colonial Office, dated Quebec, Dec. 22, 1852. The reader is also particularly requested to refer to the details of Canadian prosperity, in the chapter on Emigration in *Appendix B*, vol i.

been produced, out of a state of chaos, in eight short years. Dissatisfied men there ever will be among a large community, and therefore questions of independence and annexation will be mooted from time to time; but it seems hardly probable that a colony which enjoys an almost independent nationality would ever be disposed to resign that proud position, and to swamp her individuality among the thirty-three free and slave States of the adjoining Republic. At all events, the colony, by her conduct with reference to the present war, has shown that she is filled with a spirit of loyalty, devotion, and sympathy as true, as fervent, and as deep as those which animate all the other subjects of our beloved Sovereign.

Farewell Canada! May the sun of prosperity, which has been rising upon you steadily for eight years, rise higher and higher, and never know either a cloud or a meridian! Canada, adieu!

## CHAPTER VI.

### *A Cataract and a Celebration.*

THE convulsive efforts of the truant steam, echoing across the harbour, told me I had little time to lose; so bidding farewell to friends, I hurried down to the quay, and was soon bowling over a lake as smooth and polished as the bald head of age. The pat of every float in the wheel, as it struck in the water, echoed with individual distinctness, and the hubbub created thereby, in the otherwise unruffled lake, left its trace visible on the mirrory surface for so great a distance as to justify a disputatious man in questioning, whether the term 'trackless way' was applicable to the course a vessel had passed over. Here we are, steaming away merrily for Niagara.

There is nothing interesting in scenery until you come to the entrance of the river, on the opposite sides of which stand Lewistown and Queenstown, and above the latter the ruthlessly mutilated remains of the monument to the gallant Brock. The miscreant

who perpetrated the vile act in 1841 has since fallen into the clutches of the law, and has done—and, for aught I know, is now doing—penance in the New York State Prison at Auburn. I believe the Government are at last repairing it: better late than never. The precipitous banks on either side clearly indicate they are the silent and persevering work of the ever-rolling stream, and leave no doubt upon any reflecting mind that they must lead to some fall or cataract, though no reflection can fully realize the giant cataract of Niagara.

There are several country places on the banks, and the whole appearance bespeaks comfort and civilization; far away in the distance is to be seen the suspension-bridge, high in mid air, and straight as the arrow's flight. On either bank rival railroads are in progress; that on the Canada side is protected from the yawning abyss by a wall calculated to defy the power of steam. The boat touches at Queenstown, and thence proceeds to Lewistown, where a stage is waiting for Niagara City. No botherations of custom-house—what a blessing! The distance to ride is seven miles, and the time one hour; but in the United States, you are aware, every chap will 'do as he blest pleases;' consequently, there is a little information to be obtained from the fresh arrival, a cock-

tail with a friend or two, a quiet piling on of luggage, &c.; all this takes a long half-hour, and away we go with four tough little nags. A tremendous long hill warms their hides and cools their mettle, though by no means expending it. On we go merrily; Jehu, a free-and-easy, well-informed companion, guessing at certainties and calculating on facts.

At last we reach a spring by the roadside, the steam rising from the flanks of the team like mist from a marsh. What do I see? Number one nag with a pailful of water, swigging away like a Glasgow baillie at a bowl of punch. He drains it dry with a rapidity which says 'more, more;' and sure enough they keep on giving him pail after pail, till he had taken in enough to burst the tough hide of a rhinoceros. I naturally concluded the horse was an invalid, or a culprit who had got drunk, and that they were mixing the liquor 'black list' fashion, to save his intestines and to improve his manners; but no—round goes the pailman to every nag, drenching each to the bursting point.

'Aint you afraid,' I said, 'of killing the poor beasts by giving them such a lot of water?'

'I guess if I was, I shouldn't give it 'em,' was the terse reply.

Upon making further inquiries into this mysterious

treatment, he told me that it was a sulphur spring, and that all tired horses having exhibited an avidity for it, far greater than for common water, the instinct of the animal had been given a fair trial, and subsequent experience had so ratified that instinct that it had become 'a known fact.' An intelligent American sitting at the feet of a quadruped Gamaliel, humbly learning from his instincts, should teach the bigots of every class and clime to let their prejudices hang more loosely upon them. But half an hour has passed, and Jehu is again on the box, the nags as fresh as daisies, and as full as a corncob. Half an hour more lands us at Niagara. Avoiding the hum of men, I took refuge for the night in a snug little cottage handy to the railway, and having deposited my traps, started on a moonlight trip. I need scarce say whither.

Men of the highest and loftiest minds, men of the humblest and simplest minds, the poet and the philosopher, the shepherd and the Christian, have alike borne testimony to the fact, that the solitude of night tends to solemnize and elevate the thoughts. How greatly must this effect be increased when aided by the contemplation of so grand a work of Nature as Niagara! In the broad blaze of a noonday sun, the power of such contemplation is weakened by the

forced admixture of the earthly element, interspersed as the scene is with the habitations and works of man. But, in the hushed repose of night, man stands as it were more alone with his Maker. The mere admirer of the picturesque or the grand will find much to interest and charm him; but may there not arise in the Christian's mind far deeper and higher thoughts to feed his contemplation? In the cataract's mighty roar, may he not hear a voice proclaiming the anger of an unreconciled God? May not the soft beams of the silvery moon above awaken thoughts of the mercies of a pardoning God? And as he views those beams, veiled as it were in tears by the rising spray, may he not think of Him and his tears, through whom alone those mercies flow to man? May not yon mist rising heavenward recal his glorious hopes through an ascended Saviour; and as it falls again perpetually and imperceptibly, may it not typify the dew of the Holy Spirit, ever invisible, ever descending, the blessed fruit of that Holy Ascension? And if the mind be thus insensibly led into such a train of thought, may not the deep and rugged cliff, worn away by centuries unnumbered by man, shadow forth to him ideas of that past Eternity, compared to which they are but as a span; and may not the rolling stream, sweeping onward in rapid and unceasing

flight into the abyss beneath his feet, fill his soul with the contemplation of Time's flight, which, alike rapid and continuous, is ever bearing him nearer and nearer to the brink of that future Eternity in which all his highest and brightest hopes will be more than realized, in the enjoyment of a happiness such as 'eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive.' Say then, reader, is not every element of thought which can arise between a Christian and his Creator symbolled forth here in equal beauty and grandeur? One indeed is wanting, which, alas! none of Nature's works but man can supply—that sad element which those who search their own hearts the deepest will feel the most.—I feel I have departed from the legitimate subject of travels; let the majesty of the scene plead my excuse.

Adieu, Niagara.

Early next morning I put myself into a railway car, and in due time reached Batavia. On my arrival, being rather hungry, I made a modest request for a little brandy and some biscuits; fancy my astonishment, when the 'help' said, 'I guess we only give meals at the fixed hours.' As I disapproved very much of such an unreasonable and ridiculous refusal, I sought out the chief, and, preferring my modest request to him, was readily supplied with my simple

luncheon. In the meantime a light fly had been prepared, and off I started for Geneseo. The road presented the usual features of rich cultivated land, a dash of wild forest, a bit of bog, and ruts like drains; and each hamlet or village exhibited a permanent or an ambulating daguerreotype shop. Four hours housed me with my kind and hospitable friends at Geneseo.

As the chances of travel had brought me to a small country village at the time of the annual celebration of the 4th of July, I was unable to witness the ceremony on the grand scale in which it is conducted in the large cities of the Union; and as I think it is frequently accompanied with circumstances which are entitled to some consideration, I shall revert, in a subsequent chapter, to those points which appear to me calculated to act upon the national character. On the present occasion, I was delighted to find, that although people all 'liquored' freely, there was scarcely any drunkenness; at all events, they had their little bit of fun, such as we see at fairs at home. By way of enabling those who have a turn for the facetious to share in their jokes, I insert a couple of specimens:—

'ORDER OF THE DAY.

'The vast multitude will be assembled on the Public Square, in rear of the Candy Factory, under the direction of Marshall

JOHN A. DITTO, where they will be formed in procession in the following order:

'1. Officers of the Day, in their stocking feet.

'2. Revolutionary Relics, under the direction of the venerable G. W. S. Mattocks.

'3. Soldiers of the last War, looking for Bounty Land Warrants.

'4. The Mayor and Common Council, drawn in a Willow Wagon, by the force of habit.

'5. Officers of the Hoodoos, drawn by 13 Shanghai Chickens, and driven by Joe Garlinghouse's Shanghai Quail.

'6. The Bologna Guards, in new dress, counting their money.

'7. The Ancient Fire Company expecting their treasurer to chuck 42*8* 50 under their windows.

'The procession will then march to the grove in rear of Smith Scoville's barn, where the following exercises will take place:—

'1. The reading of the Declaration of Independence, by the Tinker, Dan.

'2. Oration—By Bill Garrison.

'3. Hymn—There was three Crows sit on a tree, by the Hoodo Choir.

'4. Benediction—by Elder Bibbins.

'After which the multitude will repair to Charley Babcock's old stand for Refreshments.

'*Bill of Fare.*—1. Mud Turtle Soup. 2. Boiled Eggs, hard. 3. Pea-nuts. 4. Boiled Eggs, soft. 5. More Pea-nuts.

'*Dessert.*—Scotch Herring, dried. 2. do. do. dead. 3. do. done brown. 4. Sardines by special request.

'*Wines and Liquors.*—Hugh Doty's Rattle Belly Pop. 2. Hide and go Seek (a new brand).

'Precisely at 4 o'clock, P.M., the Double Oven Air Caloric Engine, attached to a splendidly decorated Wheel Barrow, will make an excursion on the

*Conhocton Valley Switch,*

to the old Hemp Factory and back. It is expected that the President and Directors will go over the Road, and they are to have the first chance, strictly under the direction of the '*Rolling Stock.*'

'Hail, ye freeborn Sons of Happy America. 'Arouse, Git up and Git!!' *Music*—Loud Fifing during the day.

'June, 1853. By Order of COMMITTEE.'

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'CLEAR THE TRACK FOR THE LIGHTNING LINE OF MALE AND FEMALE STAGES!!!

'From Perry to Geneseo and back in a Flash.

'BAGGAGE, PERSONS, AND EYE-SIGHT AT RISK OF OWNERS, AND NO QUESTIONS ANSWERED.

'☞ Having bought out the valuable rights of young Master James Howard in this Line, the subscriber will streak it daily between Perry and Geneseo, for the conveyance of Uncle Sam's Mails and Family; leaving Perry before the Crows wake up in the morning, and arriving at the first house this side of Geneseo about the same time; returning, leave Geneseo after the Crows have gone to roost and reach Perry in time to join them. Passengers will please to keep their mouths shut for fear they should loose their teeth. No Smoking allowed for fear of fretting the Horses; no Talking lest it wake the Driver. Fare to suit passengers.

'The public's very much obliged servant, &c. &c.'

A quiet and simple stage of rough wood was put up at one end of the village, close to the Court-house,

from whence the Declaration of Independence was read, after which a flowery orator—summoned for the occasion, and who travels about to different villages in different years with his well digested oration—addressed the multitude. Of course similes and figures of rhetoric were lugged in by the heels in every sentence, as is the all but universal practice on such occasions in every part of the world. The moral of his speech was in the main decidedly good, and he urged upon his audience strongly, 'the undying advantages of cultivating pluck and education' in preference to 'dollars and shrewdness.' All went off in a very orderly manner, and in the evening there were fireworks and a village ball. It was at once a wild and interesting sight during the fireworks; the mixture of men, women, and children, some walking, some carried, some riding, some driving; empty buggies, some with horses, some without, tied all round; stray dogs looking for masters as hopelessly as old maids seeking for their spectacles when raised above their eyes and forgotten. Fire companies parading ready for any emergency; the son of mine host tugging away at the rope of the engine in his red shirt, like a juvenile Atlas, as proud as Lucifer, as pleased as Punch. All busy, all excited, all happy; no glimpse of poverty to mar the scene; all come with one voice

and one heart to celebrate the glorious anniversary of the birth of a nation, whose past gigantic strides, unparalleled though they be, are insufficient to enable any mind to realize what future is in store for her, if she only prove true to herself.

Leave-takings do not interest the public, so the reader will be satisfied to know that two days after found me in an open carriage on my way to Rochester. The road lay entirely through cultivated land, and had no peculiar features. The only thing I saw worth noticing, was two men in a light four-wheel one-horse shay, attached to which were at least a dozen others, some on two wheels, some on four. I of course thought they were some country productions going to a city manufacturer. What was my astonishment at finding upon inquiry, that it was merely an American phase of hawking. The driver told me that these people will go away from home for weeks together, trying to sell their novel ware at hamlet, village, farm-house, &c., and that some of the shrewdest of them, the genuine Sam Slick breed, manage to make a good thing of it.

The shades of evening closed in upon me as I alighted at a very comfortable hotel at Rochester. The amiable Morpheus soon claimed me as his own, nor was I well pleased when ruthlessly dragged from his soft embrace at 6½ A.M. the following morning;

but railways will not wait for Morpheus or any other deity of fancy or fiction, so making the best use I could of a tub of water and a beefsteak, and calming my temper with a fragrant weed, I was soon ensconced in one of their cars, a passenger to New York.

On reaching Albany, we crossed the river and threw ourselves into the cars of the Hudson River Railway, which, running close to the margin nearly all the way, gives you an ever-varying view of the charming scenery of this magnificent stream. Yankee industry was most disagreeably prominent at several of the stations, in the shape of a bevy of unwashed urchins parading the cars with baskets of the eternal pea-nut and various varieties of lollipop, lemonade, &c., all crying out their wares, and finding as ready a sale for them as they would at any school in England. The baiting-place was not very tempting; we all huddled into one room, where everything was hurry and confusion: besides which, the appetite was not strengthened by the sight of hands — whose owners seemed to have 'registered a vow in heaven,' to forego the use of soap—turning over the sandwiches, one after another, until they had made their selection. However, the majority approve of the system; and as no thought is given to the minority, 'if you don't like it, you may lump it.'

But the more permanent inconvenience of this rail-road is one for which the majority cannot be held responsible, *i. e.*, it runs three-fourths of the way over a bed of granite, and often between cuts in the solid granite rock, the noise therefore is perfectly stunning; and when to this you add the echoing nature of their long wooden cars, destitute of anything to check the vibrations of sound, except the human cargo and the cushions they sit upon, and when you add further the eternal slamming of the doors at each end by the superintending conductor and the inquisitive portion of the passengers, you may well conceive that this combination is enough to rouse the slumbers of the dead, and rack the brains of the living. At the same time, I must allow that this line runs the best pace and keeps the best time of any in the Union.

On reaching the outskirts of New York, I asked, 'Is this the proper place for me to get out at?' And being answered in the affirmative, I alighted, and found myself in a broad open street. Scarce had I set my foot on the ground, when I saw the train going on again, and therefore asked for my luggage. After a few questions and answers, I ascertained it had gone on in the train about three miles further; and the only consolation I got, was being told, 'I guess you'd best have gone on too.' However, all troubles must

have an end; so getting into a hackney, I drove to my hospitable friend Phelps' house, where, under the influence of glorious old Madeira—P. had just finished dinner—and most undeniable claret, the past was soon buried in the present; and, by the time I had knocked the first ash off one of his best '*prensados*,' the stray luggage returned from the involuntary trip it had made on its own account. What a goodly cheery thing is hospitality, when it flows pure from a warm heart; nor does it lose aught in my estimation when viewed through the medium of a first-rate cellar and the social 'Havana.'

Time progresses; small hours approach, the front door shuts behind some of the guests, six-foot-two of animal life may be seen going up-stairs with a bed-candle, the latter is soon out, and your humble servant is snug in the former.—Reader, good-night!

## CHAPTER VII.

### *Education, Civil and Military.*

HAVING said so much of education in other cities, I will only observe, that in regard to common schools, New York is on a par with most of her rivals in this noble strife for superiority; but I must ask those who are interested in the subject to give me their attention, while I enter into a few details connected with their admirable Free Academy. The object of this institution is to combine under one system and under one roof, high school, academy, polytechnic, and college, and to furnish as good an education as can be obtained by passing through each of those places of instruction separately. All this free of cost!

A sum of £10,000 was authorized for the building, and £4000 annually for its support. The course of instruction is divided into thirteen departments, with a professor at the head of each, aided by tutors where necessary; the whole under a principal, with a salary

of £500 a year, who is at the same time professor of moral, intellectual, and political philosophy. The salaries of the other professors average £300 a year, those of the tutors £100. The course of study embraces all that is taught at the four different places of education before-named. The student is allowed to make his selection between the classical languages and the modern—French, Spanish, and German. The whole course occupies five years. The requisites for admission are, that the applicant be thirteen years old, living in the city of New York, and have attended the common schools for eighteen months; besides which he is required to pass a moderate examination. The number of students at present is about 350, but they will doubtless increase. If to the annual expenses of the institution be added the interest at six per cent. on the outlay, the instruction given will be found to cost the inconceivably small sum of £13 5s. per scholar, including books, stationery, and etceteras. So trivial must this sum appear to the reader, that to remove any doubts which may exist in his mind as to what is really taught, I have added data in the *Appendix C*, whereby he may have those doubts removed, and know how duly to appreciate the inestimable value of this admirable institution.

Mr. S. B. Ruggles was kind enough to introduce

me to Mr. Horace Webster, by whom I was shown over the whole establishment. The cleanliness and good ventilation certainly exceeded that of any other similar establishment which I had visited in the United States. There is a very good library containing 3000 volumes, besides 8000 which are used as text-books or books of reference. Many publishers supplied the requisite books at reduced prices, which, as long as they retain the ignominious position of the literary pirates of the world, I suppose they can afford to do without inconvenience. There is also a fine studio full of casts from the best models, and copies of the Elgin marbles presented by Mr. Leap. Instruments of the best quality abound for the explanation of all the sciences taught.

In one of the rooms which I entered there was an examination going on. The subject was astronomy, and it was the first class. I was particularly struck with the very clear manner in which the lad under examination replied to the questions put to him, and I began to suspect it was merely something he had learnt by rote; but the professor dodged him about in such a heartless manner with his 'whys' and his 'wherefores,' his 'how do you knows' and 'how do you proves,' that I quite trembled for the victim. Vain fears on my part; nothing could put him out; he

seemed as much at home as the professor, and answered all the questions propounded to him, in language as clear and simple as that which the great Faraday employs to instruct his eager listeners at the Royal Institution. Not once could the professor make him trip during the long half-hour of his searching examination. Having remarked that the appearance of the student was rather that of a labouring than of a wealthy stock, I asked the principal who he was. 'That, sir,' replied Mr. Webster, 'is one of our best students, and he is the son of a poor journeyman blacksmith.'

New York may point with just pride to her Free Academy, and say, 'In our city the struggling efforts of genius are never cramped by the chill blast of poverty, for within those walls the avenues to the highest branches of literature and science are opened without charge to the humblest and most destitute of our citizens.' I spent several hours in this most admirable and interesting institution, so ably presided over by Mr. Horace Webster, through whose kindness I was provided with the full details of all its workings.

A few days afterwards Mr. Ruggles offered to accompany me in a visit I wished to make to the National Military College of West Point. I gladly

accepted his proffered kindness, and in due time we were rattling away over the granite-bottomed railroad, along the banks of the Hudson. Close to the station we found a small ferry-boat, ready to take us across to the southern bank. On landing at West Point, 'my pipe was immediately put out' by a summary order from the sentry on the wharf. Dropping a tear of sorrow through a parting whiff, and hurling the precious stump into the still waters of the little bay, I followed my cicerone up the hill, and soon found myself in the presence of one of the professors, through whose assistance we were enabled thoroughly to lionize every department. As many of my military friends who have visited West Point have spoken to me in terms of the highest admiration of the institution, I propose entering more into detail than I otherwise might have thought requisite.

The candidates for admission are nominated by the members of Congress, one for each congressional district, in addition to which the President of the United States has the nomination of forty from the Republic at large.[a] The requisites for admission are—the passing a very easy examination, being a bachelor

[a] By the published class-list the numbers at present are 224.

between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, and having no physical defect. The pay of each cadet is about five pounds a month, of which his board takes two pounds, and 8*s.* 6*d.* is laid aside monthly, whereby to form a fund to assist him in the expenses of equipment upon leaving. The balance provides for his dress and other expenses, and a treasurer is appointed to superintend and keep the accounts. The routine of duty prescribed is the following:—Rise at 5 A.M. in summer, and 5½ in winter; double up bed and mattress, &c., and study till 7; then fall in, and go to breakfast; at 7½. guard-mounting—twenty-four cadets are on guard every day; at 8, study; at 1 o'clock, break up, fall in, and go to dinner, which they rise from at the word of command, and are then free till 2. From 2 P.M. to 4, study; at 4, drill for one hour and a half, after which they are free till sun-set; at sun-set, parade in front of the barracks, and delinquents' names called over; then follows supper, after which the cadets are free till 8, at which time there is a call to quarters, and every cadet is required to retire to his own room and study till 9½, when the tattoo is beat; at 10, there is a roll of the drum, at the sound whereof every light must be out and every student in bed.

The cadets are organized into a battalion of four companies, the officers and non-commissioned officers are all appointed by the superintendent, from a list submitted to him by the commandant of cadets, the selection being made from those most advanced in their studies and most exemplary in their conduct; they perform in every particular the same duties as those of the officers and privates of a regiment; they have divisions and sub-divisions, with superintendent cadets attached to each, regular orderlies who sweep and clean out the room, furniture, &c.: guards are regularly mounted, an officer of the day duly appointed, and all the duties of a regular barrack punctually performed, even to the sentinels being supplied with ball cartridge at night. Their uniform is of grey cloth, and their hair is kept a close crop; neither whiskers nor moustache are tolerated, and liquor and tobacco are strictly prohibited. The punishments consist of privation of recreation, extra duty, reprimand, arrest or confinement to room or tent, confinement to light or dark prison, dismission with privilege of resigning, and public dismission; the former of these are at the will of the superintendent—confinement to prison and dismission are by sentence of a court-martial.

The course of studies pursued are classed under

twelve heads: — 1. Infantry tactics and military police; 2. Mathematics; 3. French; 4. Drawing; 5. Chemistry, mineralogy, and geology; 6. Natural and experimental philosophy; 7. Artillery tactics, science of gunnery, and the duties of the military laboratory; 8. Cavalry tactics; 9. The use of the sword; 10. Practical military engineering; 11. Grammar, geography, ethics, &c.; 12. Military and civil engineering and the science of war.

In the preceding pages we have seen that ten hours are daily devoted to study, besides an hour and a half to drill; and thus, while the brain is severely taxed, but little leisure is left to get into those minor scrapes so prevalent at most public schools.

There is a most minute system of merit and demerit established; everything good and everything bad has a specific value in numbers and decimals, which is accurately recorded against the owners thereof in the reports made for each year. The cadet appears to be expected to improve in conduct as well as knowledge, for, according to the rules, after his first year is completed, the number expressing his absolute demerit is increased by one-sixth during the second year, by one-third during the third year, and by one-half during the fourth year. Thus, suppose a certain number of faults to be represented by the sum of 36, if faults

which those figures represent are committed during the second year of the cadet's course, one-sixth would be added, and his name appear on the demerit list with 42 against it; if in the third year, one-third would be added to the 36, and 48 would be placed against his name; and if during the fourth year, one-half would be added, and 54 would appear against it. It will thus be seen, that, supposing offences of equal value to be committed by the cadet in his first year and by another in his fourth year, the figures of demerit against the latter would be one-half more than those placed against the name of the cadet in his first year. A demerit conduct roll is made out each year, and a copy sent to the War Department.

There is also a general merit roll of proficiency and good conduct sent to the same department, an abstract whereof, with demerit added, is sent to the parents or guardians in a printed book containing the names of all the cadets, by which they can at once see the relative position of their son or ward. The table in *Appendix C* will perhaps explain the rolls referred to above. A board with the marks of demerit is always publicly hung up, so that each cadet may know the exact length of his tether, for if the numbers amount to 200 he is dismissed. I have dwelt very lengthily upon the system adopted of recording and publishing the merit and demerit of the students,

because I was informed of the admirable effect produced by it. As far as I can judge, it certainly appears not only an admirable means of enabling the War-office to estimate character, but the great publicity given to it must act as a powerful stimulus to exertion and good conduct.

A portion of the cadets are instructed every day in fencing and riding. When well advanced in the latter, they are taught spearing rings or stuffed heads at the gallop, and the same with the sword. The riding-school is perfectly abominable, dark, full of pillars, and most completely out of harmony with all the rest of the establishment, which is excellent in every detail. On Sundays all the cadets attend church, unless excused on conscientious motives, and with the approval of their parents. The minister is selected by the President, and may be of any denomination. I was told that an Episcopalian had been most frequently chosen. The present minister is, I believe, a Presbyterian. During the months of July and August the cadets all turn out of their barracks, pitch their tents, and live regular camp life, only going to the barracks to eat their meals. During the time they are tented, the education is exclusively military practice; the same hours are kept as in the barracks; the tents are boarded, and two cadets sleep in each. They are all pitched with scrupulous accuracy, and

they are obliged to keep their camp as clean as a new pin—performing among themselves every duty of a complete regiment—cleaning their own shoes, fetching their own water, &c. They were all in tents at the time of my visit, and I fear not particularly comfortable, for there had been two days and nights hard rain, and the wet mattresses were courting the warm rays of the afternoon sun. Whatever jobbery is attempted in the selection of candidates for admission to the Academy, is soon corrected by the Academy itself, for though the entrance examination is simple to a degree, the subsequent examinations are very severe, and those who cannot come up to the mark get notice to quit; and the unerring tell-tale column of demerit soon obliges the turbulent to 'clear out.'

The result of this system is, that when I saw them under arms, their soldier-like appearance struck me very much; and the effect produced upon them by discipline was very marked. You might almost guess the time they had been there by their gentlemanly bearing, a quality which they do not readily lose; for the officers of the American army who have been educated at West Point, enjoy a universal reputation for intelligence and gentlemanly bearing wherever they are to be met with.

The discipline here is no fiction; they do not play

at soldiers, they all work their way up from the ranks, performing every duty of each rank, and the most rigid obedience is exacted. In the calculations for demerit, while idleness in the Academy obtains a mark of three, disobedience to a superior officer is marked eight. There is no bullying thought of here; the captain of his company would as soon think of bullying the cadet private, as a captain of a regiment of the line would of bullying any private under his command. An officer who had been for many years connected with West Point, told me that among all the duels, which unfortunately are so prevalent in the United States, he had never either known or heard of one between any two gentlemen who had received their education at this Academy—tricks of course are sometimes played, but nothing oppressive is ever thought of.

I did hear a story of a cadet, who, by way of a joke, came and tried to take away the musket of a wiry young Kentuckian, who was planted sentry for the first time; but he found a military ardour he had little anticipated; for the novice sentry gave him a crack on the side of the head that turned him round, and before he could recover himself, he felt a couple of inches of cold steel running into the bank situated at the juncture of the hips and the back-bone, and

thus not only did he suffer total defeat and an ignominious wound, but he earned a large figure on the demerit roll. From the way the story was told to me, I imagine it is a solitary instance of such an outrage being attempted; for one of the first things they seek to inculcate is a military spirit, and the young Kentuckian at all events proved that he had caught the spirit; nor can it be denied that the method he took to impress it upon his assailant, as a fundamental principle of action, was equally sharp and striking.

Happening to be on the ground at the hour of dinner, I saw them all marched off to their great dining hall, where the table was well supplied with meat, vegetables, and pudding; it was all substantial and good, but the *tout ensemble* was decidedly very rough. If the intention is to complete the soldier life, by making them live like well-fed privates of the line, the object is attained; but I should be disposed to think, they might dispense with a good deal of the roughness of the style with great advantage, though doubtless, where the general arrangements are so good, they have their own reasons for keeping it as it is. I paid a visit in the course of the afternoon to the fencing-room; but being the hour of recreation, I found about thirty lusty cadets, votaries

to Terpsichore, all waltzing and polking merrily to a fiddle, ably wielded by their instructor; as their capabilities were various, the confusion was great, and the master bewildered, but they all seemed heartily enjoying themselves.

The professors and military instructors, &c., have each a small comfortable house with garden attached, and in the immediate vicinity of the Academy. There is a comfortable hotel, which in the summer months is constantly filled with the friends and relatives of the cadets; and occasionally they get permission to give a little *soirée dansante* in the fencing-room. The hotel is prohibited from selling any spirituous liquors, wines, &c.

The Government property at West Point consists of about three thousand acres, the Academy, professors' houses, hotel, &c., are built upon a large plateau, commanding a magnificent view of the Hudson both ways. The day I was there the scene was quite lovely; the noble stream was as smooth as a mirror; a fleet of rakish schooners lay helpless, their snow-white sails hanging listlessly in the calm; and, as the clear waters reflected everything with unerring truthfulness, another fleet appeared beneath, lying keel to keel with those that floated on the surface. With such beautiful scenery, and so far re-

moved from the bustle and strife of cities, I cannot conceive any situation better adapted for health and study, pleasure and exercise.

The great day of the year is that of the annual review of the cadets by a board of gentlemen belonging to the different States of the Union, and appointed by the Secretary of War; it takes place early in June, I believe, and consequently before the cadets take the tented field. The examination goes on in the library hall, which is a very fine room, and hung with portraits of some of their leading men; the library is a very fair one, and the cadets have always easy access to it, to assist them in their studies. I could have spent many more hours here with much pleasure, but the setting sun warned us no time was to be lost if we wished to save the train; so bidding adieu to the friends who had so kindly afforded me every assistance in accomplishing the object of my visit, I returned to the great Babylon, after one of the most interesting and gratifying days I had spent in America.[a]

[a] An account of a visit to this Academy, from the pen of Sir J. Alexander, is published in Colburn's *United Service Magazine*, September, 1854.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Watery Highways and Metallic Intercourse.*

THERE is perhaps scarcely any feature in which the United States differ more from the nations of the Old World, than in the unlimited extent of their navigable waters, the value of which has been incalculably increased by the introduction of steam. By massing these waters together, we shall be the better able to appreciate their importance; but in endeavouring to do this, I can only offer an approximation as to the size of the lakes, from the want of any official information, in the absence of which I am forced to take my data from authorities that sometimes differ widely. I trust the following statement will be found sufficiently accurate to convey a tolerably correct idea.

The seaboard on each ocean may be estimated at 1500 miles; the Mississippi and its tributaries, at 17,000 miles; Lake Ontario, at 190 miles by 50; Lake Erie, at 260 miles by 60; Lake Huron, at 200 miles by 70; the Georgian Bay, at 160 miles, one half

whereof is about 50 broad; Lake Michigan, at 350 miles by 60; and Lake Superior, at 400 miles by 160, containing 32,000 square miles, and almost capable of floating England, if its soil was as buoyant as its credit. All the lakes combined contain about 100,000 square miles. The rate at which the tonnage upon them is increasing appears quite fabulous. In 1840 it amounted to 75,000 tons, from which it had risen in 1850 to 216,000 tons. Besides the foregoing, there are the eastern rivers, and the deep bays on the ocean-board. Leaving, however, these latter out of the question, let us endeavour to realize in one sum the extent of soil benefited by this bountiful provision of Providence, to do which it is necessary to calculate both sides of the rivers and the shores of the lakes, which, of course, must be of greater extent than double the length of the lakes; nevertheless, if we estimate them at only double, we shall find that there are 40,120 miles washed by their navigable waters; and by the constitution of the Union these waters are declared to be 'common property, for ever free, without any tax, duty, or impost whatever.'

The Americans are not free from the infirmities of human nature; and having got a 'good thing' among them, in process of time it became a bone of contention, which it still remains: the Whigs contending

that the navigable waters having been declared by the constitution 'for ever free,' are national waters, and as such, entitled to have all necessary improvements made at the expense of the Union; their opponents asserting, that rivers and harbours are not national, but local, and that their improvements should be exclusively committed to the respective States. This latter opinion sounds strange indeed, when it is remembered, that the Mississippi and its tributaries bathe the shores of some thirteen States, carrying on their bosoms produce annually valued at £55,000,000 sterling, of which £500,000 is utterly destroyed from the want of any sufficient steps to remove the dangers of navigation.[a]

Mr. Ruggles has always been a bold and able advocate of the Whig doctrine of nationality; and, in a lecture delivered by him upon the subject, he states that during the recent struggle to pass the River and Harbour Bill through the Senate, Mr. Douglas, a popular democrat from Illinois, offered as a substitute an amendment giving the consent of Congress 'to the levy of local tonnage dues, not only by each of the separate States, but even by the authorities of any city or town.' One can hardly conceive any man of the most ordinary intellect deliberately proposing

[a] *Vide* observations on this subject in Chapter X. vol. i.

to inflict upon his country the curse of an unlimited legion of custom-houses, arresting commerce in every bend of the river and in every bay of the sea; yet such was the case, though happily the proposition was not carried. How inferior does the narrow mind, which made the above proposition in 1848, appear when placed beside the prescient mind which in 1787 proposed and carried, 'That navigable waters should be for ever free from any tax or impost whatever.'

One of the most extraordinary instances of routine folly which I ever read or heard of, and which, among so practical and unroutiney a people as the Americans, appears all but incredible, is the following; Congress having resisted the Harbour Improvement Bill, but acknowledged its duties as to certain lights and beacons, 'Ordered, that a beacon should be placed on a rock in the harbour of New Haven. The engineer reported, that the cost of removing the rock would be less than the cost of erecting the beacon; but the President was firm,—a great party doctrine was involved, and the rock remains to uphold the beacon—a naked pole, with an empty barrel at its head—a suitable type of the whole class of constitutional obstructions.'[a]

[a] Extract from lecture delivered by S. B. Ruggles, at New York, October, 1852.

The State of New York may fairly claim the credit of having executed one of the most—if not the most—valuable public works in the Union—the Erie Canal. At the time of its first proposal, it received the most stubborn opposition, especially from that portion of the democratic party known by the appellation of 'Barn-burners,' whose creed is thus described in the pamphlet before me:—'All accumulations of wealth or power, whether in associations, corporate bodies, public works, or in the state itself, are anti-democratic and dangerous. . . . . The construction of public works tends to engender a race of demagogues who are sure to lead the people into debt and difficulty,' &c. The origin of their name I have not ascertained.

Another party, possessing the equally euphonical name of 'Old Hunkers,' are thus described:—'Standing midway between this wing of the Democracy and the Whig party, is that portion who have taken upon themselves the comfortable title of 'Old Hunkers.' The etymological origin of this epithet is already lost in obscurity. They embrace a considerable portion of our citizens who are engaged in banking and other active business, but at the same time decided lovers of political place and power. At heart they believe in progress, and are in favour of a liberal prosecution

of works of improvement, but most generally disguise it, in order to win the Barn-burners' votes. They are by no means deficient in intelligence or private worth, but are deeply skilled in political tactics; and their creed, if it is rightly understood, is that public works ought to be 'judiciously' prosecuted, provided they themselves can fill all the offices of profit or honour connected with their administration.'[a]

Such is the description given of these two parties by the pen of a political opponent, who found in them the greatest obstacles to the enlargement of the canal.

The name of De Witt Clinton will ever be associated with this great and useful work, by which the whole commerce of the ocean lakes is poured into the Hudson, and thence to the Atlantic. After eight years' hard struggle, and the insane but undivided opposition of the city of New York, the law for the construction of the canal was passed in the year 1817. One opponent to the undertaking, when the difficulty of supplying water was started as an objection, assisted his friend by the observation, 'Give yourself no trouble—the tears of our constituents will fill it.' Many others opposed the act on the grounds that, by

[a] This extract is from a lecture by S. B. Ruggles to the citizens of Rochester, October, 1849.

bringing the produce of the States on the lake shores so easily to New York, the property of the State would be depreciated, which appears to me, in other words, to be—they opposed it on the grounds of its utility. Others again grounded their objections on the doubt that the revenue raised by the tolls would be sufficient to justify the expense. Fortunately, however, the act was carried; and in seven years, the canal, though not quite completed, was receiving tolls to the amount of upwards of £50,000. In 1836 the canal debt was paid, and produce valued at £13,000,000 — of which £10,000,000 belonged to the State of New York—was carried through it; the tolls had risen to £320,000 per annum, and £80,000 of that sum was voted to be appropriated to the general purposes of the State, the total cost having been under one and a half million sterling.

One might imagine that such triumphant success would have made the State ready to vote any reasonable sum of money to enlarge it if required, but the old opponents took the field in force when the proposition was made. Even after a certain sum had been granted, and a contract entered into, they rescinded the grant and paid a forfeit to the contractor of £15,000. It was in vain that the injury to commerce,

resulting from the small dimensions of the canal,[a] was represented to them; it was in vain that statistics were laid before them, showing that the 7,000,000 miles traversed by the 4500 canal boats might, if the proposed enlargement took place, reduce the distance traversed to two millions of miles, and the boats employed to 1500; Barn-burners triumphed, and it was decided that the enlargements should only be made out of the surplus proceeds of the tolls and freight, by which arrangement this vast commercial advantage will be delayed for many years, unless the fruits of the canal increase more rapidly than even their present wonderful strides can lead one to anticipate, although amounting at this present day to upwards of £1,000,000 yearly.[b] Such is a short epitome of a canal through which, when the Sault St. Marie Channel between Lakes Superior and Huron is completed, an unbroken watery highway will bear the

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[a] The neighbouring colony 'whips' the republic in canals. Vessels from 350 to 400 tons can pass the St. Lawrence and Welland Canals. Nothing above 75 tons can use the Erie Canal.

[b] The governor of the State, in his annual message, 1854, calls attention to the fact, that the toll on the canals is rapidly decreasing, and will be seriously imperilled if steps are not taken to enlarge it.

rich produce of the West from beyond the 90° meridian of longitude to the Atlantic Ocean.[a]

Although the Erie is perhaps the canal which bears the most valuable freight, it is by no means the greatest undertaking of the kind in the Union. The Chesapeake and Ohio canal, uniting Washington and Pittsburg, has nearly 400 locks, and is tunnelled four miles through the Alleghanies; and the Pennsylvania canal, as we have already seen in a former chapter, runs to the foot of the same ridge, and being unable to tunnel, uses boats in compartments, and drags them by stationary engines across the mountains. Nothing daunts American energy. If the people are once set upon having a canal, go-ahead it must; can't is an unknown expression.[b]

However important the works we have been considering may be to the United States, there can be no doubt that railways are infinitely more so; I therefore trust the following remarks upon them may have some interest.

By the statement of the last Census, it appears that

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[a] By the Illinois and Michigan Canal the ocean lakes communicate with the Mississippi; and when the channel is made by Lake Nipissing, there will be an unbroken watercourse between New Orleans, New York, Bytown, and Quebec.

[b] There are upwards of 5000 miles of canal in America.

there are no less than 13,266 miles of railroad in operation, and 12,681 in progress, giving a total of nearly 26,000 miles; the cost of those which are completed, amounts to a little less than £75,000,000, and the estimate for those in progress is a little above £44,000,000; we thus see that the United States will possess 26,000 miles of railroad, at the cost of about £120,000,000. In England we have 8068 miles of railway, and the cost of these amounts to £273,860,000 or at the rate of £34,020 per mile. This extraordinary difference between the results produced and the expenses incurred requires some little explanation. By the Census report, I learn that the average expense of the railways varies in different parts of the Union; those in the northern, or New England States, costing £9250 per mile; those in the middle States £8000; and those in the southern and western States £4000 per mile. The railway from Charleston to Augusta, on the Savanah River, only cost £1350 per mile. From the above, we see clearly that the expenses of their railways are materially affected by density of population and the consequent value of land, by the comparative absence of forest to supply material, and by the value of labour. If these three causes produce such material differences in a country of comparative empty space like the United States, it

is but natural to expect that they should be felt with infinitely more force in England. Moreover, as it has been well observed by Captain D. Galton, R. E.,[a] that 'railways originated in England, and therefore the experience which is always required to perfect a new system has been chiefly acquired in this country, and has increased the cost of our own railways for the benefit of our neighbours.'—Some conception may be formed of the irregular nature of the expense on the lines in England from the statement subjoined, also taken from the same paper, viz.:—

| Name of Railway. | Land and Compensation. | Works. | Rails. | Total cost per mile. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| London and Blackwall | 113,500 | 98,000 | 4,000 | 253,000[b] |
| Leicester and Swannington | 1,000 | 5,700 | 700 | 8,700[b] |

[a] *Vide* an able paper on railways, written by that officer, and published in that valuable work *Aide Mémoire to the Military Sciences.*

[b] This is without the expenses arising from law and parliamentary proceedings.

The following Table, extracted from a Return moved for by Lord Brougham, may help to give a better general idea of the reason why our Railroads have been so costly :—

| Name of Railway. | Length. | Cost of Construction. | Conveyance and Law Charges. | Cost of Land. | Parliamentary Expenses. | Engineering and Surveying. | Total Cost. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Miles. | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| London & North Western, and 12 branches | 433 | 13,302,313 | 143,479 | 3,153,226 | 555,698 | 289,698 | 17,444,414 |
| Great Western, and 3 branches | 215¾ | 6,961,011 | 105,269 | 1,132,964 | 245,139 | 201,909 | 8,646,292 |
| Midland, and 12 branches | 449¼ | 9,064,089 | 119,344 | 1,764,582 | 287,853 | 216,110 | 11,451,978 |
| South Eastern, and 6 branches | 198½ | 5,375,366 | 138,034 | 1,458,627 | 420,467 | 116,039 | 7,508,533 |
| Total . . . | 1296½ | 34,702,779 | 506,126 | 7,509,399 | 1,509,157 | 823,756 | 45,051,217 |

From the foregoing table it will be seen that the cost of construction and engineering expenses amounted to £35,526,535 out of £45,051,217. Taking the railways quoted as representing a fair average of the whole, we ascertain that more than one-fourth of expense of our railways is incurred for extras comparatively unknown in the United States. At a general meeting of the London and North Western, in 1854, Mr. Glyn mentioned as a fact, that a chairman of a certain line, in giving evidence, had stated that a competition for the privilege of making 28 miles of railway had cost £250,000. Such an item of expenditure can hardly enter into the cost of a railway, in a country as thinly populated as the Republic. There are also two other important facts which are apt to be overlooked; first, that a great portion of the railways in the United States are single lines; and secondly, that the labour performed is of a far less solid and enduring character. A most competent civil engineer told me that the slovenly and insecure nature of many of the railway works in the United States was perfectly inconceivable, and most unquestionably would not stand the inspection required in England. A friend of mine has travelled upon a railway in America, between Washington and Virginia, of which a great portion was composed of

merely a wooden rail with a bar of iron screwed on to the surface.[a] The carriages are also far less expensive and comfortable; a carriage in the United States, which carries fifty people, weighs twelve tons, and costs £450; in England it may be fairly asserted, that, for every fifty people in a mixed train there is a carriage weight of eighteen tons at a cost of £1500.

When all the foregoing facts are taken into consideration, it must appear clear to the reader, that until the efficiency of the work done, the actual number of miles of rail laid down, and the comfort enjoyed are ascertained, any comparison of the relative expenses of the respective railways must be alike useless and erroneous; at the same time, it can scarcely be denied that it is impossible to give the Republic too much credit for the energy, engineering skill, and economy with which they have railway-netted the whole continent. Much remains for them to do in the way of organizing the corps of officials, and in the erection of proper stations sufficient, at all events to protect travellers from the weather, for which too common neglect, the abundance of wood and admirable machinery leaves them without excuse; not that we

[a] I believe the railway from Charleston to Savannah was entirely laid down on this plan.

are without sin ourselves in this last particular. The uncovered station at Warrington is a disgrace to the wealthy London and North Western Company, and the inconveniences for changing trains at Gretna junction is even more disreputable; but these form the rare exceptions, and as a general rule, there cannot be the slightest comparison between the admirably arranged corps of railway servants in England, and the same class of men in the States; nor between the excellent stations in this country, and the wretched counterpart thereof in the Republic. Increased intercourse with Europe will, it is to be hoped, gradually modify these defects; but as long as they continue the absurd system of running only one class of carriage, the incongruous hustling together of humanities must totally prevent the travelling in America being as comfortable as that in the Old World.

Let us now turn from that which carries our bodies at the rate of forty miles an hour, to that last giant stride of science by which our words are carried quick as thought itself—the Telegraph. The Americans soon discovered that this invention was calculated to be peculiarly useful to them, owing to their enormous extent of territory; and having come to this conclusion, their energy soon stretched the electric messenger throughout the length and breadth of the

land, and by the last Census the telegraphic lines extend 16,735 miles, and the length of wires employed amounts to 23,281. *The Seventh Census* gives the expense of construction as £30 per mile.[a] The systems in use are Morse's, House's, and Bain's; the two former of American invention, the latter imported from this country. Of these three, the system most generally employed is Morse's, the others being only worked upon about 2000 miles each. It would be out of place to enter into any scientific explanation of their different methods in these pages; suffice it to say, that all three record their messages on ribands of paper; Morse employing a kind of short-hand symbol which indents the paper; Bain, a set of symbols which by chemical agency discolour the paper instead of indenting it; and House printing Roman letters in full by the discolouring process. Those who wish for details and explanations, will find them in the works of Dr. Lardner and others on the Telegraph.

The following anecdote will give some idea of the rapidity with which they work. A house in New York expected a synopsis of commercial news by the steamer from Liverpool. A swift boat was sent down

[a] Mr. Jones, in his *Historical Sketch of the Electric Telegraph*, makes the calculation £40 a mile, and estimates that, to erect them durably, would cost £100 a mile.—*Vide* page 91.

to wait for the steamer at the quarantine ground. Immediately the steamer arrived, the synopsis was thrown into the boat, and away she went as fast as oars and sails could carry her to New York. The news was immediately telegraphed to New Orleans and its receipt acknowledged back in three hours and five minutes, and before the steamer that brought it was lashed alongside her wharf. The distance to New Orleans by telegraph is about 2000 miles. The most extensive purchases are frequently made at a thousand miles distance by the medium of the telegraph. Some brokers in Wall-street average from six to ten messages per day throughout the year. I remember hearing of a young officer, at Niagara Falls, who finding himself low in the purse, telegraphed to New York for credit, and before he had finished his breakfast the money was brought to him. Cypher is very generally used, for two reasons; first, to obtain the secrecy which is frequently essential to commercial affairs; and secondly, that by well organized cypher a few words are sufficient to convey a long sentence.

Among other proposed improvements is one to transmit the signature of individuals, maps and plans, and even the outlines of the human face, so as to aid in the apprehension of rogues, &c. By a table of

precedence, Government messages, and messages for the furtherance of justice and detection of criminals, are first attended to; then follow notices of death or calls to a dying bed; after which, is the Press, if the news be important; if not, it takes its turn with the general, commercial, and other news. The wires in America scorn the railway apron-strings in which they are led about in this country. They thread their independent course through forests, along highways and byways, through streets, over roofs of houses,—everybody welcomes them,—appearance bows down at the shrine of utility, and in the smallest villages these winged messengers are seen dropping their communicative wires into the post-office, or into some grocer's shop, where a 'cute lad picks up all the passing information—which is not in cypher—and probably retails it with an amount of compound interest commensurate with the trouble he has taken to obtain it. There is no doubt that many of these village stations are not sure means of communication, partly perhaps from carelessness, and partly from the trunk arteries having more important matter to transmit, and elbowing their weaker neighbours out of the field. Their gradual increase is however a sufficient proof that the population find them useful, despite the disadvantages they labour under. In some instances,

however, they have shown a zeal without discretion, for a friend of mine, lately arrived from the Far West, informs me, that in many places the wires may be seen broken and the poles tumbling down for miles and miles together, the use of the telegraph not being sufficient even to pay for the keeping up. This fact should be borne in mind when we give them the full benefit of the 16,735 miles according to their own statement in *The Seventh Census.*

The very low tariff of charge renders the use of the telegraph universal throughout the Union. In Messrs. Whitworth's and Wallis's Report, they mention an instance of a manufacturer in New York, who had his office in one part of the town and his works in an opposite direction, and who, to keep up a direct communication between the two, erected a telegraph at his own expense, obtaining leave to carry it along over the tops of the intervening houses without any difficulty. The tariff alluded to above will of course vary according to the extent of the useful pressure of competition. I subjoin two of their charges as an example. From Washington to Baltimore is forty miles, and the charge is 10*d.* for ten words. From New York to Orleans is two thousand miles, and the charge for ten words is ten shillings. It must be remembered that these ten words are exclusive of the

names and addresses of the parties sending and receiving the message.

A short sketch of the telegraph in this country may not be without interest to some of my readers; I therefore devote a few lines to the subject which, having been obtained from the best authority, may safely be relied on.

The extent to which the telegraph is used in the United States, induced those interested in the matter in England to send over for the most competent and practical person that could be obtained, with the view of ascertaining how far any portion of the system employed by them might be beneficially introduced into this country. The American system is that of the complete circuit, and therefore requiring only one wire; and the patent of Bain was the one experimented with, as requiring the slightest intensity of current. After considerable expense incurred in trials, the American system was found decidedly inferior to our own, solely owing to the humidity of our climate, which, after repeated trials, has been found to require a far more perfect insulation than is necessary either in the United States or on the Continent, and therefore requiring a greater outlay of capital in bringing the

* For the length of telegraph wires, &c., see *Appendix D.*

telegraphic wire into a practical working state; 260 miles is the greatest length that a battery is equal to working in this country in the worst weather.

Bain's system was formerly not sufficiently perfected to work satisfactorily in our climate; recent improvements are removing those objections, and the employment of it is now rapidly increasing. The advantages that Bain's possesses over Morse's are twofold: first, the intensity of current required to work it is lighter; and secondly, the discolouration it produces is far more easily read than the indentations of Morse's. The advantage Morse's possesses over Bain's is, that the latter requires damped paper to be always ready for working, which the former does not. The advantage Cook and Wheatstone's[a] possesses over both the former is, that it does not demand the same skilled hands to wind and adjust the machine and prepare the paper; it is always ready at hand, and only needs attention at long intervals, for which reasons it is more

[a] Having alluded in the text to the systems of Morse, Bain, and House, I must apologize for omitting to add, that the system of Cook and Wheatstone consists simply of a deflecting needle—or needles—which being acted upon by the currents are, according to the manipulations of the operator, made to indicate the required letters by a certain number of ticks to the right or left.

generally employed at all minor and intermediate stations; its disadvantages are, that it does not trace the message, and consequently leaves no telegraphic record for reference, and it requires two wires, while Bain's or Morse's employs but one; the intensity of the current required to work it is the same as Bain's, and rather less than Morse's. All three admit of messages going the whole length of the line being read at all intermediate stations. The proportion of work capable of being done by Bain's, as compared with Cook and Wheatstone's, is: Bain's and one wire = 3; Cook and Wheatstone's and two wires = 5. But if Bain's had a second wire, a second set of clerks would be requisite to attend to it. The errors from the tracing telegraph are less than those from the magnetic needle; but the difference is very trifling. No extra clerk is wanted by Cook and Wheatstone's, as all messages are written out by a manifold writer. Every message sent by telegraph in England has a duplicate copy sent by rail to the 'Clearing Office,' at Lothbury, to be compared with the original; thanks to which precaution, clerks keep their eyes open, and the public are efficiently protected from errors.

How strange it is, that with the manifest utility of the telegraph in case of fire, and the ease with which it could be adapted to that purpose—as it has now

been for some years in Boston—the authorities take no steps to obtain its invaluable services. The alarm of fire can be transmitted to every district of London at the small cost of £350 a-year. The most competent parties are ready to undertake the contract; but it is too large a sum for a poor little village, with only 2,500,000 of inhabitants, and not losing more than £500,000 annually by fires, to expend. The sums spent at St. Stephen's in giving old gentlemen colds, and in making those of all ages sneeze from underfoot snuff—in other words, the attempt at ventilation, which is totally useless—has cost the country more than would be necessary to supply this vast metropolis with telegraphic fire communication for a century.

In conclusion, I must state that in this country several establishments and individuals have their own private telegraphs, in a similar manner to that referred to at New York, and many more would do the same, did not vested interests interfere.

## CHAPTER IX.

### *America's Press and England's Censor.*

IN treating of a free country, the Press must ever be considered as occupying too important an influence to be passed over in silence. I therefore propose dedicating a few pages to the subject. The following Table, arranged from information given in the Census Report of 1850, is the latest account within my reach:—

*Newspapers Published.*

| Daily | Tri-Weekly | Semi-Weekly | Weekly |
|---|---|---|---|
| 254 | 115 | 31 | 1902 |
| Printed Annually | Printed Annually | Printed Annually | Printed Annually |
| 235,119,966 | 11,811,140 | 5,565,176 | 153,120,708 |

| Semi-Monthly | Monthly | Quarterly |
|---|---|---|
| 95 | 100 | 19 |
| Printed Annually | Printed Annually | Printed Annually |
| 11,703,480 | 8,887,803 | 103,500 |

*General Classification.*

| Literary and Miscellaneous | Neutral and Independent | Political | Religious | Scientific |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 568 | 83 | 30<br>16 | 191 | 53 |
| Printed Annually | Printed Annually | Printed Annually | Printed Annually | Printed Annually |
| 77,877,276 | 88,023,953 | 221 844,133 | 33,645,484 | 4,893,932 |

Total number of newspapers and periodicals, 2526; and copies printed annually, 426,409,978.

The minute accuracy of the number of copies issued annually is a piece of startling information : the Republic is most famous for statistics, but how, without any stamp to test the accuracy of the issues, they have ascertained the units while dealing with hundreds of millions is a statistical prodigy that throws the calculating genius of a Babbage and the miraculous powers of Herr Döbler and Anderson into the shade. I can therefore no more pretend to explain the method they employ for statistics, than I can the system adopted by Herr Döbler to mend plates by firing pistols at them. The exact quantity of reliance that can be placed upon them, I must leave to my reader's judgment.

As a general rule, it may be said that the literary, religious, and scientific portion of the Press is printed on good paper, and provided with useful matter, reflecting credit on the projectors and contributors. I wish I could say the same of the political Press;

but truth compels me to give a far different account of their publications: they certainly partake more of the 'cheap and nasty' style. The paper is generally abominable, the type is so small as to be painful to the eyes, and would almost lead one to suppose it had been adopted at the suggestion of a conclave of 'cute oculists: the style of language in attacking adversaries is very low: the terms employed are painfully coarse, and there is a total absence of dignity; besides which they are profuse caterers to the vanity of the nation. I do not say there are no exceptions; I merely speak generally, and as they came under my own eye, while travelling through the whole length of the States. At the same time, in justice, it must be stated, that they contain a great deal of commercial information for the very small price they cost, some of them being as low as one halfpenny in price.

I do not endorse the following extract, nor do I give it as the opinion which editors entertain generally of each other, but rather to show the language in which adverse opinions are expressed. It is taken from the columns of *The Liberator*:—'We have been in the editorial harness for more than a quarter of a century, and, during that period, have had every facility to ascertain the character of the American Press, in regard to every form that has struggled for the ascendancy during that period; and we soberly

aver, as our conviction, that a majority of the proprietors and editors of public journals more justly deserve a place in the penitentiaries of the land than the inmates of those places generally. No felons are more lost to shame, no liars are so unscrupulous, no calumniators are so malignant and satanic.'—The language of the foregoing is doubtless unmistakeably clear, but I think the style can hardly be thought defensible. On general topics of interest, if nothing occurs to stir the writer's bile, or if the theme be not calculated to excite the vanity of their countrymen, the language usually employed is perhaps a little metaphorical, but is at the same time grammatical and sufficiently clear; and, I believe, that as a general principle they expend liberally for information, and consequently the whole Republic may be said to be kept well informed on all passing events of interest.

If we turn for a moment from considering the American Press, to take a slight glimpse at our own, how startling does the difference appear! Great Britain, Ireland, and the Channel Islands, with a population exceeding that of the United States, and with wealth immeasurably greater, produce 624 papers, and of these comparatively few are daily; only 180 issue above 100,000 copies annually, only 32 circulate above 500,000, and only 12 above 1,000,000. It has further been stated, that there are 75 towns

returning 115 members, and representing 1,500,000 of the population, without any local paper at all.

The information respecting the Press in England is derived from *The Sixth Annual Report of the Association for promoting the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge*, and *The Newspaper Press Directory*. The issues subjoined are taken from the Return ordered by the House of Commons, of newspaper stamps, which is '*A Return of the Number of Newspaper Stamps at one penny, issued to Newspapers in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, for the year* 1854.'

*In England.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| The Times . . . | 15,975,739 | Manchester Guardian . . . . | 1,066,575 |
| The News of the World . . . | 5,673,525 | Liverpool Mercury | 912,000 |
| Illustrated London News . . | 5,627,866 | Morning Chronicle | 873,500 |
| Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper . | 5,572,897 | The Globe . . . | 850,000 |
| Weekly Times . | 3,902,169 | The Express . . | 841,342 |
| Reynold's Weekly | 2,496,256 | Morning Post . . | 832,500 |
| Morning Advertiser . . . . | 2,392,780 | The Sun . . . . | 825,000 |
| Weekly Dispatch | 1,982,933 | Evening Mail . . | 800,000 |
| Daily News . . | 1,485,099 | Leeds Mercury . | 735,500 |
| Bell's Life in London . . . . | 1,161,000 | Stamford Mercury | 689,000 |
| Morning Herald . | 1,158,000 | Birmingham Journal . . . . . | 650,750 |
| | | Shipping Gazette . | 628,000 |
| | | Weekly Messenger | 625,500 |

| *In Scotland.* | | *In Ireland.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| North British Advertiser . . . . | 802,000 | The Telegraph . . | 959,000 |
| Glasgow Saturday Post . . . . . | 727,000 | Saunders's News Letter . . . . | 756,000 |
| North British Mail | 565,000 | Daily Express . . | 748,000 |
| Glasgow Herald . | 541,000 | General Advertiser | 598,000 |

Various reasons may be given for this great difference between the Press of the two countries. Many are disposed to attribute it, very naturally, to the government stamp, and the securities which are required; some, to the machinery of Government of this country being necessarily so complicated by ancient rights and privileges, and the difficulties of raising a revenue, whereof the item of interest on the national debt alone amounts to nearly £30,000,000; while others, again, planting one foot of the Press compass in London, show that a half circle with a radius of five hundred miles brings nearly the whole community within twenty-four hours' post of the metropolis, in which the best information and the most able writers are to be found, thereby rendering it questionable if local papers, in any numbers, would obtain sufficient circulation to enable the editors to retain the services of men of talent, or to procure valuable general information, without wholesale plagiarism from their giant metropolitan rivals. Besides, it must be remembered that

in America, each State, being independent, requires a separate Press of its own, while the union of all the States renders it necessary that the proceedings in each of the others should be known, in order that the constitutional limits within which they are permitted to exercise their independence, may be constantly and jealously watched; from which cause it will be seen that there is a very simple reason for the Republic requiring comparatively far more papers than this country, though by no means accounting for the very great disproportion existing.

While, however, I readily admit that the newspapers of Great Britain are greatly inferior in numbers, I am bound in justice to add, that they are decidedly superior in tone and character. I am not defending the wholesale manner in which, when it suits their purpose, they drag an unfortunate individual before the public, and crucify him on the anonymous editorial WE, which is at one and the same time their deadliest weapon and their surest shield. Such acts all honest men must alike deplore and condemn; but it must be admitted that the language they employ is more in accordance with the courtesies of civilized life, than that used by the Press of the Republic under similar circumstances; and if, in a time of excitement and hope, they do

sometimes cater for the vanity of John Bull, they more generally employ their powers to 'take him down a peg;' and every newspaper which has sought for popularity in the muddy waters of scurrility, has—to use an Oriental proverb—'eaten its own dirt, and died a putrid death.'

Let me now turn from the Press to the literature of the United States. Of the higher order of publications, it is needless to say anything in these pages. Irving, Prescott, Ticknor, Stephens, Longfellow, Hawthorne, and that stamp of writer, are an honour to any country, and are as well known in England as they are in America, consequently any encomium from my pen is as unnecessary as it would be presumptuous.

The literature on which I propose to comment, is that which I may reasonably presume to be the popular literature of the masses, because it is the staple commodity for sale on all railways and steamboats. I need not refer again to the most objectionable works, inasmuch as the very fact of their being sold by stealth proves that, however numerous their purchasers, they are at all events an outrage on public opinion. I made a point of always purchasing whatever books appeared to me to be selling most freely among my fellow-travellers, and I am sorry to say that the mass

of trash I thus became possessed of was perfectly inconceivable, and the most vulgar abuse of this country was decidedly at a premium. But their language was of itself so penny-a-liny, that they might have lain for weeks on the book-shelf at an ordinary railway-station in England—price, *gratis*—and nobody but a trunk-maker or a grocer would have been at the trouble of removing them.

Not content, however, with writing trash, they do not scruple to deceive the public in the most barefaced way by deliberate falsehood. I have in my possession two of these specimens of honesty, purchased solely from seeing my brother's name as the author, which of course I knew perfectly well to be false, and which they doubtless put there because the American public had received favourably the volumes he really had written. Of the contents of these works attributed to him I will only say, the rubbish was worthy of the robber. I would not convey the idea that all the books offered for sale are of this calibre; there are also magazines and other works, some of which are both interesting and well-written. If I found no quick sale going on, I generally selected some work treating of either England or the English, so as to ascertain the popular shape in which my countrymen were represented.

One work which I got hold of, called *Northwood*,

amused me much: I there found the Englishman living under a belief that the Americans were little better than savages and Pagans, and quite overcome at the extraordinary scene of a household meeting together for domestic worship, which of course was never heard of in England. This little scene affords a charming opportunity for 'buttering up' New England piety at the cheap expense of a libel upon the old country. He then is taken to hear a sermon, where for his special benefit—I suppose—the preacher expatiates on the glorious field of Bunker's Hill, foretells England's decline, and generously promises our countrymen a home in America when they are quite 'used up.' The Englishman is quite overcome with the eloquence and sympathy of the Church militant preacher, whose discourse, being composed by the authoress, I may fairly conclude is given as a model of New England oratory in her estimation. Justice requires I should add, that the sermons I heard during my stay in those States were on religious topics, and not on revolutionary war.

Perhaps it may be said that *Northwood* was written some years ago, I will therefore pass from it to what at the present day appears to be considered a *chef d'œuvre* among the popular style of works I have been speaking of. I ground my opinion of the high estimation in which it is held from the flattering encomiums

passed upon it by the Press throughout the whole Republic from Boston to New Orleans. Boston styles it a '*vigorous volume;*' Philadelphia a '*delightful treat;*' New York '*interesting and instructive;*' Albany admires the Author's '*keen discriminating powers;*' Detroit '*a lively and racy style;*' *The Christian Advocate* styles it '*a skinning operation,*' and then adds it is a '*retort courteous*' to Uncle Tommyism; Rochester honours the author with the appellation of '*the most chivalrous American that ever crossed the Atlantic.*' New Orleans winds up a long paragraph with the following magnificent burst of editorial eloquence:—'*The work is essentially American. It is the type, the representative,* THE AGGREGATE OUTBURST OF THE GREAT AMERICAN HEART, *so well expressed, so admirably revealing the sentiment of our whole people—with the exception of some puling lovers he speaks of—that it will find sympathy in the mind of every true son of the soil.*' The work thus heralded over the Republic with such perfect *e pluribus unum* concord is entitled *English Items*; and the embodiment of the '*aggregate outburst of the great American heart,*' is a Mr. Matthew F. Ward, whose work is sent forth to the public from one of the most respectable publishers in New York—D. Appleton and Co., Broadway.

Before I present the reader specimens of ore from this valuable mine, I must make a few observations.

The author is the son of one of the wealthiest families in Kentucky, a man of education and travel, and has appeared before the public in a work entitled *The Three Continents:* I have given extracts from the opinions of the Press at greater length than I otherwise should, because I think after the reader has followed me through a short review of *English Items,* he will see what strong internal testimony they bear to the truth of my previous observations. I would also remark, that I am not at all thin-skinned as to travellers giving vent to their true feelings with regard to my own country. All countries have their weaknesses, their follies, and their wickednesses. Public opinion in England, taken as a whole, is decidedly good, and therefore the more the wrong is laid bare, the more hope for its correction; but, while admitting this right in its fullest extent, it is under two conditions: one that the author speak the truth, the other that his language be not an outrage on decency or good manners. Now then, come forth, *thou aggregate outburst of the great American heart!*[a] Speak for thyself—let the public be thy judge.

[a] The reader is requested to remember that all the words printed in italics—while dealing with *English Items*—are so done to show that they are quotations from the eulogies of the American press. They are as thoroughly repudiated by me as they must be by every American gentleman.

The following extracts are from the chapter on 'Our individual Relations with England,' the chaste style whereof must gratify the reader:—'I am sorry to observe that it is becoming more and more the fashion, especially among travelled Americans, to pet the British beast; . . . . . instead of treating him like other refractory brutes, they pusillanimously strive to soothe him by a forbearance he cannot ap preciate; . . . . . beasts are ruled through fear, not kindness: they submissively lick the hand that wields the lash.' Then follow instructions for his treatment, so terrible as to make future tourists to America tremble:—'Seize him fearlessly by the throat, and once strangle him into involuntary silence, and the British lion will hereafter be as fawning as he has hitherto been spiteful.' He then informs his countrymen that the English 'cannot appreciate the retiring nature of true gentility . . . . nor can they realize how a nation can fail to be blustering except from cowardice.' Towards the conclusion of the chapter he explains that 'hard blows are the only logic the English understand;' and then, lest the important fact should be forgotten, he clothes the sentiment in the following burst of genuine *American* eloquence:—'To affect their understandings, we must punch their heads.' So much for the chapter on 'Our Individual

Relations with England,' which promise to be of so friendly a nature that future travellers had better take with them a supply of bandages, lint, and diachylon plaster, so as to be ready for the new *genuine American* process of intellectual expansion.

Another chapter is dedicated to 'Sixpenny Miracles in England,' which is chiefly composed of *réchauffées* from our own press, and with which the reader is probably familiar; but there are some passages sufficiently amusing for quotation:—'English officials are invariably impertinent, from the policeman at the corner to the minister in Downing-street . . . . a stranger might suppose them paid to insult, rather than to oblige . . . . from the clerk at the railway depôt to the secretary of the office where a man is compelled to go about passports, the same laconic rudeness is observable.' How the *American mind* must have been galled, when a cabinet minister said 'not at home' to a free and enlightened citizen, who, on a levee day at the White House, can follow his own hackney-coachman into the august presence of the President elect. Conceive him strolling up Charing Cross, then suddenly stopping in the middle of the pavement, wrapt in thought as to whether he should cowhide the insulting minister, or give him a chance at twenty yards with a revolving carbine. Ere the

knotty point is settled in his mind, a voice from beneath a hat with an oilskin top sounds in his ear, 'Move on, sir, don't stop the pathway!' Imagine the sensations of a sovereign citizen of a sovereign state, being subject to such indignities from stipendiary ministers and paid police. Who can wonder that he conceives it the duty of government so to regulate public offices, &c., 'as to protect not only its own subjects, but strangers, from the insults of these impertinent hirelings.' The bile of the author rises with his subject, and a few pages further on he throws it off in the following beautiful sentence:—'Better would it be for the honour of the English nation if they had been born in the degradation, as they are endued with the propensities, of the modern Egyptians.'

At last, among other 'sixpenny miracles,' he arrives at the Zoological Gardens,—the beauty of arrangement, the grandness of the scale, &c., strike him forcibly; but his keen inquiring mind, and his accurately recording pen, have enabled him to afford his countrymen information which most of my co-members in the said Society were previously unconscious of. He tells them, 'It is under control of the English Government, and subject to the same degradation as Westminster, St. Paul's, &c.' Starting from this basis, which only wants truth to make it solid, he

complains of 'the meanness of reducing the nation to the condition of a common showman;' the trifling mistake of confounding public and private property moves his democratic *chivalry*, and he takes up the cudgels for the masses. I almost fear to give the sentence publicity, lest it should shake the Ministry, and be a rallying point for Filibustero Chartists. My anticipation of but a moderate circulation for this work must plead my excuse for not withholding it. 'The Government basely use, without permission, the authority of the people's name, to make them sharers in a disgrace for which they alone are responsible. A stranger, in paying his shilling for admission into an exhibition, which has been dubbed national (by whom?), in contradistinction from another in the Surrey Gardens, very naturally suspects that the people are partners in this contemptible transaction. . . . . The English people are compelled to pay for the ignominy with which their despotic rulers have loaded them.' Having got his foot into this mare's nest, he finds an egg a little further on, which he thus hatches for the American public: 'Englishmen not only regard eating as the most inestimable blessing of life when they enjoy it themselves, but they are always intensely delighted to see it going on. The Government charge an extra shilling at the Zoo-

logical Gardens on the days that the animals are fed in public; but as much as an Englishman dislikes spending money, the extraordinary attraction never fails to draw,' &c.

From the Gardens he visits Chelsea Hospital, where his *keen discriminating powers* having been sharpened by the demand for a shilling—the chief object of which demand is to protect the pensioners from perpetual intrusion—he bursts forth in a sublime magnifico Kentuckyo flight of eloquence: 'Sordid barbarians might degrade the wonderful monuments of their more civilized ancestors by charging visitors to see them; but to drag from their lowly retreat these maimed and shattered victims of national ambition, to be stared at, and wondered at, like caged beasts, is an outrage against humanity that even savages would shrink from.' And then, a little further on, he makes the following profound reflection, which no doubt appears to the *American mind* peculiarly appropriate to Chelsea Hospital: 'Cringing to the great, obsequious to the high, the dwarfed souls of Englishmen have no wide extending sympathy for the humble, no soothing pity for the lowly,' &c. It would probably astonish some of the readers who have been gulled by his book, could they but know that the sum paid by Great Britain for the support and pension of her vete-

rans by sea and land costs annually nearly enough to buy, equip, and pay the whole army and navy of the United States.[a]

The next 'sixpenny miracle' he visits is Chatsworth, which calls forth the following *vigorous* attack on sundry gentlemen, clothed in the author's peculiarly *lively and racy* language: 'The showy magnificence of Chatsworth, Blenheim, and the gloomy grandeur of Warwick and Alnwick Castles, serve to remind us, like the glittering shell of the tortoise, what worthless and insignificant animals often inhabit the most splendid mansions.' He follows up this general castigation of the owners of the above properties with the infliction of a special cowhiding upon the Duke of Devonshire, who, he says, 'would, no doubt, be very reluctant frankly to confess to the world, that although he had the vanity to affect libe-

[a] Did Mr. Ward ever read any account in the gazettes of his own country, of the poor soldiers going to Washington to procure land warrants, and after being detained there till they were reduced to beggary, receiving no attention? Let me commend the following letter, taken from the press of his own country, dated July 6, 1853, and addressed to the President:—

'DEAR SIR,—*In the humblest tone do I implore your charity for three cents, to enable me to procure something to eat.* Pray be so kind, and receive the grateful thanks of your humble supplicant . . . . . of Shneaudoah County, Va.'

rality, he was too penurious to bear the expense of it. Like the ostrich, he sticks his head in the sand, and imagines himself in the profoundest concealment.' He then begs the reader to understand, that he does not mean to intimate 'that any portion of the large amounts collected at the doors of Chatsworth actually goes into the pocket of His Grace, but they are, nevertheless, remarkably convenient in defraying the expense of a large household of servants. . . . . The idea of a private gentleman of wealth and rank deriving a profit from the exhibition of his grounds, must be equally revolting to all classes.' These truthful observations are followed by a description of the gardens; and the whole is wound up in the following *chivalrous and genuine American* reflection: 'Does it not appear extraordinary that a man dwelling in a spot of such fairy loveliness should retain and indulge the most grovelling instincts of human nature's lowest grade.' What a *delightful treat* these passages must be to the rowdy Americans, and how the Duke must writhe under—what the *Christian Advocate* lauds as —the *skinning operation* of the renowned American champion.[a]

[a] The reader will be astonished to know that these remarks are from the pen of a Kentucky man; in which State there is a large hole in the ground, made by Providence, and called

The Press-bespattered author then proceeds to make some observations on various subjects, in a similar vein of chaste language, lighting at last upon the system of the sale of army commissions. His vigour is so great upon this point, that had he only been in the House of Commons when the subject was under consideration, his eloquence must have hurled the 'hireling ministers' headlong from the government. I can fancy them sitting pale and trembling as the giant orator thus addressed the House: 'She speculates in glory as a petty hucksterer does in rancid cheese; but the many who hate, and the few who despise England, cannot exult over her baseness in selling commissions in her own army. There is a degree of degradation which changes scorn into pity, and makes us sincerely sympathize with those whom we most heartily despise.' The annexed extract from his observations on English writers on America is an equally elegant specimen of *genuine American feeling*. 'When the ability to calumniate is the only power which has survived the gradual encroachment of

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'The Mammoth Cave;' it is situated on private property, and, for the privilege of lionizing it, you pay 10*s*. So carefully is it watched, that no one is even allowed to make a plan of it, lest some entrance should be found available on the adjoining property.

bowels upon intellect in Great Britain, it would be a pity to rob the English even of this miserable evidence of mind . . . . she gloats over us with that sort of appetizing tenderness which might be supposed to have animated a sow that had eaten her nine farrow.' The subjoined sentiment, if it rested with the author to verify, would doubtless be true; and I suppose it is the paragraph which earned for his work the laudations of *The Christian Advocate.* 'Mutual enmity is the only feeling which can ever exist between the two nations. . . . . She gave us no assistance in our rise. . . . . She must expect none from us in her decline.' How frightful is the contemplation of this omnipotent and *Christian* threat; it is worthy of the consideration of my countrymen whether they had not better try and bribe the great Matt. Ward to use his influence in obtaining them recognition as American territory. The honour of being admitted as a sovereign state is too great to be hoped for. He has already discovered signs of our decay, and therefore informs the reader that 'The weaker rival ever nurses the bitterest hate.' This information is followed by extracts from various English writers commenting upon America, at one of whom he gets so indignant, that he suggests as an appropriate *American* translation of the F.R.S., which is added to the author's name, 'First Royal Scavenger.'

He then gets into a fever about the remarks made by travellers upon what they conceive to be the filthy practice of indiscriminate spitting. He becomes quite furious because he has never found any work in which 'an upstart islander has ever preached a crusade against the Turks because they did not introduce knives and forks at their tables,' &c. Even Scripture —and this, be it remembered, by the sanction of *The Christian Advocate* — is blasphemously quoted to extenuate the practice of American expectoration. 'What after all is there so unbearably revolting about spitting? Our Saviour in one of his early miracles 'spat upon the ground and made clay of the spittle, and anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay. And he said unto him, Go wash in the pool of Siloam. He went his way therefore and washed, and came seeing.' I have with a crowd of pilgrims gone down to drink from this very pool, for the water had borrowed new virtue from the miracle.' He then states his strong inclination to learn to chew tobacco in order to show his contempt for the opinions of travellers. What a beautiful picture to contemplate— a popular author with a quid of Virginia before him; Nausea drawing it back with one hand, and Vengeance bringing it forward with the other. Suddenly a bright idea strikes him; others may do what he dare not;

so he makes the following stirring appeal to his countrymen: 'Let us spit out courageously before the whole world . . . . let us spit fearlessly, and profusely. Spitting on ordinary occasions may be regarded by a portion of my countrymen as a luxury: it becomes a duty in the presence of an Englishman. Let us spit around him—above him—beneath him—everywhere but on him, that he may become perfectly familiar with the habit in all its phases. I would make it the first law of hospitality to an Englishman, that every tobacco-twist should be called into requisition, and every spittoon be flooded, in order thoroughly to initiate him into the mysteries of chewing. Leave no room for imagination to work. Only spit him once into a state of friendly familiarity with the barbarous custom,' &c. What a splendid conception the population of a whole continent organized under the expectorating banner of the illustrious Matt. Ward: field-days twice a week; ammunition supplied *gratis;* liberal prizes to the best marksmen. The imagination is perfectly bewildered in the contemplation of so majestic an *aggregate outburst of the great American* mouth. I would only suggest that they should gather round the margin of Lake Superior, lest in their hospitable entertainment of the 'upstart islanders' they destroyed the vegetation of the whole continent.

Another chapter informs his countrymen that the four hundred and thirty nobles in England speak and act for the nation; his knowledge of history, or his love of truth, ignoring that little community called the House of Commons. Bankers and wealthy men come under the ban of his condemnation, as having no time for 'enlightened amusements;' he then, with that truthfulness which makes him so safe a guide to his readers, adds that 'they were never known to manifest a friendship, except for the warehouse cat; they have no time to talk, and never write except on business; all hours are office-hours to them, except those they devote to dinner and sleep; they know nothing, they love nothing, and hope for nothing beyond the four walls of their counting-room; nobody knows them, nobody loves them; they are too mean to make friends, and too silent to make acquaintances,' &c. What very interesting information this must be for Messrs. Baring and their co-fraternity.

In another part of this volume, the author becomes suddenly impressed with deep reverence for the holy localities of the East, and he falls foul of Dr. Clarke for his scepticism on these points, winding up his remarks in the following beautiful Kentucky vein:—'A monster so atrocious could only have been a Goth or an Englishman.' How fortunate for his country-

man, Dr. Robinson, that he had never heard of his three learned tomes on the same subject, though, perhaps, scepticism in an American, in his discriminating mind, would have been deep erudition correcting the upstart islanders. This deep interest which he evinces for holy localities—accompanied as it is by an expression of horror at some English traveller, who, he asserts, thought that David picked up his pebbles in a brook between Jordan and the Dead Sea, whereas he knew it was in an opposite direction—doubtless earned for him the patronage of *The Christian Advocate;* and the pious indignation he expresses at an Englishman telling him he would get a good dinner at Mount Carmel, is a beautiful illustration of his religious feelings.

The curious part of this portion of Mr. Ward's book is, that having previously informed his countrymen, in every variety of American phrascology, that the English are composed of every abominable compound which can exist in human nature, he selects them as his companions, and courts their friendship to enjoy the pleasure of betraying it. Of course, if one is to judge by former statements made in the volume, which are so palpably and ridiculously false, one may reasonably conclude that truth is equally disregarded here; but it looks to me rather as if my countrymen

had discovered his cloven hoof, as well as his overweening vanity and pretensions, and, when he got pompously classical, in his trip through Greece, they amused themselves at his expense by suggesting that the Acropolis 'was a capital place for lunch;' Parnassus, 'a regular sell;' Thermopylæ, 'great for water-cresses.' Passing on from his companions—one of whom was a Fellow of Oxford, and the other a captain in Her Majesty's service—he becomes grandly Byronic, and consequently quite frantic at the idea of Mr. A. Tennyson supplanting him! 'Byron and Tennyson!—what an unholy alliance of names!—what sinful juxtaposition! He who could seriously compare the insipid effusions of Mr. Tennyson with the mighty genius of Byron, might commit the sacrilege of likening the tricks of Professor Anderson to the miracles of our Saviour.'

Having delivered himself of this pious burst, he proceeds to a castigation of the English for their observations on the nasal twang of his countrymen, and also for their criticism upon the sense in which sundry adjectives are used; and, to show the superior purity of the American language, he informs the reader that in England 'the most elegant and refined talk constantly of 'fried 'am' . . . . . they seem very reluctant to *h*acknowledge this peculiarly *h*exceptionable

'abit, and *h*insist that *h*it *h*is confined to the low and *h*ignorant of the country.' He then gets indignant that we call 'stone' 'stun,' and measure the gravity of flesh and blood thereby. 'To unsophisticated ears, 21 stone 6 pounds sounds infinitely less than three hundred pounds, which weight is a fair average of the avoirdupois density of the Sir Tunbelly Clumsies of the middle and upper classes.'

From this elegant sentence he passes on to the evils of idleness, in treating of which he supplies *The Christian Advocate* with the true cause of original sin. 'Does any one imagine that the forbidden fruit would ever have been tasted if Adam had been daily occupied in tilling the earth, and Eve, like a good housewife, in darning fig-leaf aprons for herself and her husband? Never!' The observation would lead one to imagine that the Bible was a scarce article in Kentucky. He passes on from Adam, to the banker and merchant of the present day, and informs the reader that they command a high respect in society, but it would be deemed a shocking misapplication of terms to speak of any of them as gentlemen. After which truthful statement, he enters into a long definition of a gentleman, as though he thought his countrymen totally ignorant on that point: he gets quite *chivalrous* in his description: 'He ought to touch his hat to his opponent with whom he was about to engage in mortal

combat."[a] After which remark he communicates two pieces of information—the one as true as the other is modest: 'Politeness is deemed lessening to the position of a gentleman in England; in America it is thought his proudest boast.' Of course he only alludes to manner; his writings prove at every page that *genuine American feeling* dispenses with it in language. His politeness, I suppose, may be described in the words Junius applied to friendship:—'The insidious smile upon the cheek should warn you of the canker in the heart.' By way of encouraging civility, he informs the reader that an Englishman 'never appears so disgusting as when he attempts to be especially kind; . . . . . in affecting to oblige, he becomes insulting.' He confesses, however: 'I have known others in America whom you would never suspect of being Englishmen—they were such good fellows; but they had been early transplanted from England. If the sound oranges be removed from a barrel in which decay has commenced, they may be saved; but if suffered to remain, they are all soon reduced to the same disgusting state.'

His discriminating powers next penetrate some of the deep mysteries of animal nature: he discovers that

[a] I must beg the reader to remember this last sentence when he comes to the interview between the Kentucky author and his old friend, the schoolmaster.

the peculiarities of the bullock and the sheep have been gradually absorbed into the national character, as far as conversation is concerned. 'They have not become woolly, nor do they wear horns, but the nobility are eternally bellowing forth the astounding deeds of their ancestors, whilst the muttonish middle classes bleat a timorous approval. . . . Such subjects constitute their fund of amusing small talk,' &c. From the foregoing elegant description of conversation he passes onwards to the subject of gentility, and describes a young honourable, on board a steamer, who refused to shut a window when asked by a sick and suffering lady, telling the husband, 'He could not consent to be suffocated though his wife was sick.' And having cooked up the story, he gives the following charming reason for his conduct: 'He dreaded the possibility of compromising his own position and that of his noble family at home by obliging an ordinary person.' He afterwards touches upon English visitors to America, who, he says, 'generally come among us in the undisguised nakedness of their vulgarity. Wholly freed from the restraints imposed upon them at home by the different grades in society, they indolently luxuriate in the inherent brutality of their nature. They constantly violate not only all rules of decorum, but the laws of decency itself. . . . They abuse our hospitality, insult our peculiar institutions,

set at defiance all the refinements of life, and return home, lamenting the social anarchy of America, and retailing their own indecent conduct as the ordinary customs of the country..... The pranks which, in a backwoods American, would be stigmatized as shocking obscenity, become, when perpetrated by a rich Englishman, charming evidence of sportive humour,' &c.

A considerable portion of the volume is dedicated to Church matters; for which subject the meek and lowly style which characterizes his writing pre-eminently qualifies him, and to which, doubtless, he is indebted for the patronage of *The Christian Advocate*. I shall only indulge the reader with the following beautiful description of the Established Church. 'It is a bloated unsightly mass of formalities, hypocrisy, bigotry, and selfishness, without a single charitable impulse or pious aspiration.' After this touching display of *genuine American feeling*, he draws the picture of a clergyman in language so opposite, that one is reminded of a certain mysterious personage, usually represented with cloven feet, and who is said to be very apt at quoting Scripture.

Heraldry and ancestry succeed the Church in gaining a notice from his pen; and his researches have gone so deep, that one is led to imagine—despite his declarations of contempt—that he looks forward to becoming some day The Most Noble the Duke of

Arkansas and Mississippi, with a second title of Viscount de' Tucky and Ohio;[a] the 'de' suggestive of his descent from *The Three Continents.* One of the most remarkable discoveries he has made, is, that 'the soap-makers and the brewers are the compounders of the great staple commodities of consumption in Great Britain, and therefore surpass even Charles himself in the number of their additions to the Peerage.' This valuable hint should not be lost upon those employed in these useful occupations, as hope is calculated to stimulate zeal and ambition.

The last quotations I propose making from this *vigorous volume* are taken from the seventh chapter, headed, 'English Devotion to Dinner.' On this subject the author seems to have had his *keen discriminating powers* peculiarly sharpened; and the observations made are in his most *lively and racy style,* and—according to the Press—perfectly *courteous.* The Englishman 'is never free till armed with a knife and fork; indeed, he is never completely himself without them[b] . . . . which may be as

[a] Kentucky is the State of his birth and family, Arkansas the State of his adoption, and the three continents the fruit of his pen.

[b] The reader will find that, in his interview with the schoolmaster, his brother was 'completely himself,' with a bowie-knife only.

properly considered integral portions of an Englishman, as claws are of a cat; . . . . they are not original even in their gluttony; . . . . they owe to a foreign nation the mean privilege of bestial indulgence; . . . . they make a run into Scotland for the sake of oatmeal cakes, and sojourn amongst the wild beauties of Switzerland in order to be convenient to goats' milk. . . . Like other carnivorous animals, an Englishman is always surly over his meals. Morose at all times, he becomes unbearably so at that interesting period of the day, when his soul appears to cower among plates and dishes; . . . . though he gorges his food with the silent deliberation of the anaconda, yet, in descanting upon the delicacies of the last capital dinner, he makes an approach to animation altogether unusual to him; . . . . when, upon such auspicious occasions, he does go off into something like gaiety, there is such fearful quivering of vast jelly mounds of flesh, something so supernaturally tremendous in his efforts, that, like the recoil of an overloaded musket, he never fails to astound those who happen to be near him.' But his *keen observation* has discovered a practice before dinner, which, being introduced into the centre of various censures, may also be fairly supposed to be considered by him and his friends of the Press as most objectionable,

and as forming one of the aggregate *Items* which constitute the English beast. 'For dinner, he bathes, rubs, and dresses.' How filthy! Yet be not too hard upon him, reader, for this observation; I have travelled in his neighbourhood, on the Mississippi steamers, and I can therefore well understand how the novelty of the operation must have struck him with astonishment, and how repugnant the practice must have been to his habits.

Among other important facts connected with this great question, his *discriminating* mind has ascertained that an Englishman 'makes it a rule to enjoy a dinner at his own expense as little as possible.' Armed with this important discovery, he lets drive the following American shell, thus shivering to atoms the whole framework of our society. The whole nation may tremble as it reads these withering words of Kentucky eloquence:—'When it is remembered that of all the vices, avarice is most apt to corrupt the heart, and gluttony has the greatest tendency to brutalize the mind, it no longer continues surprising that an Englishman has become a proverb of meanness from Paris to Jerusalem. The hatred and contempt of all classes of society as necessarily attend him in his wanderings as his own shadow. . . . Equally repulsive to every grade of society, he

stands isolated and alone, a solitary monument of the degradation of which human nature is capable.'

Feeling that ordinary language is insufficient to convey his *courteous* and *chivalrous* sentiments, he ransacks natural history in search of a sublime metaphor: his triumphant success he records in this beautifully expressed sentence—'The dilating power of the anaconda and the gizzard of the cassowary are the highest objects of his ambition.' But neither ordinary language nor metaphor can satisfy his lofty aspirations: it requires something higher, it requires an embodiment of *genuine American feeling, vigorous yet courteous;* his giant intellect rises equal to the task. He warns my countrymen 'to use expletives even with the danger of being diffuse, rather than be so blunt and so vulgar;' and then by way—I suppose—of showing them how to be sarcastic without being either blunt or vulgar, he delivers himself of the following magnificent bursts—'If guts could perform the function of brains, Greece's seven wise men would cease to be proverbial, for England would present to the world twenty-seven millions of sages. . . . . To eat, to drink, to look greasy, and to grow fat, appears to constitute, in their opinion, the career of a worthy British subject. . . . . The lover never asks his fair one if she admires Donizetti's

compositions, but tenderly inquires if she loves beef-steak pies. This sordid vice of greediness is rapidly brutalizing natures not originally spiritual; every other passion is sinking, oppressed by flabby folds of fat, into helplessness. All the mental energies are crushed beneath the oily mass. Sensibility is smothered in the feculent steams of roast beef, and delicacy stained by the waste drippings of porter. The brain is slowly softening into blubber, and the liver is gradually encroaching upon the heart. All the nobler impulses of man are yielding to those animal propensities which must soon render Englishmen beasts in all save form alone.'

I have now finished my *Elegant Extracts* from the work of Mr. Ward. The reader can judge for himself of Boston's '*vigorous volume*,' of Philadelphia's '*delightful treat*,' of Rochester's '*chivalrous and genuine American feeling*,' of The Christian Advocate's '*retort courteous*,' and of New Orleans' '*aggregate outburst of the great American heart*,' &c. These compliments from the Press derive additional value from the following passage in the work they eulogize. Pages 96, 97, Mr. Ward writes: 'It is the labour of every author so to adapt his style and sentiments to the tastes of his readers, as most probably to secure their approbation. . . . . The consciousness that his success

is so wholly dependent on their approval, will make him, without his being aware of it, adapt his ideas to theirs.' And the New Orleans Press endorses all the author's sentiments, and insults American gentlemen and American intelligence, by asserting that it '*admirably reveals the sentiments of the whole people, and will find sympathy in the mind of every true son of the soil.*'

Before taking a final leave of *English Items*, I owe some apology to the reader for the length at which I have quoted from it. My only excuse is, that I desired to show the grounds upon which I spoke disparagingly of a portion of the Press, and of the low popular literature of the country. I might have quoted from various works, instead of one, but if I had done so, it might fairly have been said that I selected an isolated passage for a particular purpose; or else, had I quoted largely, I might have been justly charged with being tedious. Besides which, to corroborate my assertions regarding the Press, I should have been bound to give their opinion also upon each book I quoted from; and, beyond all these reasons, I felt that the generality of the works of low literature which I came across were from the pen of people with far less education than the author I selected, who, as I have before remarked, belongs to one of the

wealthiest families in Kentucky, and for whom, consequently, neither the want of education, nor the want of opportunities of mixing in respectable society —had he wished to do so—can be offered as the slightest extenuation.

I feel also that I owe some apology to my American friends for dragging such a work before the public, but I trust they will find sufficient excuse for my doing so, in the explanation thus afforded, of the way the mind of Young America gets poisoned, and which will also partly account for the abuse of this country that is continually appearing in their Press. I feel sure there is hardly a gentleman in America, whose acquaintance I had the pleasure of making, who would read even the first twenty pages of the book; and I am in justice bound to say, that, among all the works of a similar class which I saw, *English Items* enjoys unapproachable pre-eminence in misrepresentation and vulgarity, besides being peculiarly contemptible, from the false being mixed up with many true statements of various evils and iniquities still existing in England, and which, being quoted from our own Press, are calculated to give the currency of truth to the whole work, among that mass of his countrymen who, with all their intelligence, are utterly ignorant of England, either socially or politically.

The subsequent career of this censor of English manners and morals is too remarkable to be passed over in silence I therefore now proceed to give you a short epitome of it, as a specimen of morals and manners in Kentucky, as exhibited by him, and his trial. My information is taken from the details of the trial published at full length, a copy of which I obtained in consequence of the extraordinary accounts of the transaction which I read in the papers.—Professor Butler had formerly been tutor in the family of the Wards, and was equally esteemed by them and the public of Louisville generally. At the time of the following occurrence the Professor was Principal of the High School in that city.

One of the boys at the school was William—brother of Mr. Matt. F. Ward: it appears that in the opinion of the Professor the boy had been guilty of eating nuts in the school and denying it, for which offence he was called out and whipped, as the master told him, for telling a lie. Whether the charge or the punishment was just is not a point of any moment, though I must say the testimony goes far to justify both. William goes home, complains to his brother Matt. F., not so much of the severity of the punishment, as of being called a liar. The elder brother becomes highly indignant, and determines to

go to the Professor and demand an apology. It must be remembered that the father was all this time in Louisville, and of course the natural person to have made any remonstrance with his old friend the Professor. Matt. F.'s family remind him that he is very weakly, and that one of the masters at the school is an enemy of his. They therefore beg of him to be calm, and to take his intermediate brother Robert with him, in case of accidents. He consents. He then goes to the gun-store of Messrs. Dixon and Gilmore, and purchases of the latter, about 9 A.M., two small pocket-pistols, three inches long in the barrel. These he gets Mr. Gilmore to load, but purchases no further ammunition. After this he proceeds with his brother Robert, who is armed with a bowie-knife, to the school. Not wishing to be unjust to Mr. Matt. F. Ward, I give the statement of the subsequent occurrence in the words of his brother Robert's evidence in court.[a]

'On entering the school-room,[b] Matt. asked for Butler. He came. Matt. remarked, I wish to have a talk with you. Butler said, Come into my

[a] Of course the evidence of the brother is the *most favourable* to Mr. M. F. W. that the trial produces.

[b] It appears in evidence that the scene described took place about half-past ten, A.M.

private room. Matt. said, No; here is the place. Mr. Butler nodded. Matt. said, What are your ideas of justice? Which is the worst, the boy who begs chestnuts, and throws the shells on the floor, and lies about it, or my brother who gives them to him? Mr. Butler said, he would not be interrogated, putting his pencil in his pocket and buttoning up his coat. Matt. repeated the question. Butler said, There is no such boy here. Matt. said, That settles the matter: you called my brother a liar, and for that I must have an apology. Butler said, he had no apology to make. Is your mind made up? said Matt. Butler said it was. Then, said Matt., you must hear my opinion of you. You are a d——d scoundrel and a coward. Butler then struck Matt. twice, and pushed him back against the door. Matt. drew his pistol and fired. Butler held his hand on him for a moment. As the pistol fired, Sturgus[a] came to the door. I drew my knife[b] and told him to stand back.' Thus was Professor Butler, Principal of the High School of Louisville, shot by the author of *English Items*, with a pistol bought and loaded only an hour and a half previous, in broad day-

[a] Mr. Sturgus is the master who was supposed to be unfriendly to Mr. Matthew F. Ward.

[b] *Vide* note (b), page 186.

light, and in the middle of his scholars. The Professor died during the night.

The details of the trial are quite unique as to the language employed by jury, counsel, and evidence, but I purposely abstain from making extracts, though I could easily quote passages sufficiently ridiculous and amusing, and others which leave a painful impression of the state of law in Kentucky. My reason for abstaining is that if I quoted at all, I ought to do so at greater length than the limits of a book of travels would justify: suffice it that I inform you that Mr. Matthew F. Ward was tried and acquitted.

When the result of the trial was made known, an indignation meeting was held in Louisville, presided over by General Thomas Strange, at which various resolutions were passed unanimously. The first was in the following terms:—'Resolved—That the verdict of the jury, recently rendered in the Hardin County Court, by which Matt. F. Ward was declared innocent of any crime in the killing of William H. G. Butler, is in opposition to all the evidence in the case, contrary to our ideas of public justice, and subversive of the fundamental principles of personal security guaranteed to us by the constitution of the State.

'Secondly: Resolved—That the published evidence given on the trial of Matt. F. Ward shows, beyond

all question, that a most estimable citizen, and a most amiable, moral, and peaceable man, has been wantonly and cruelly killed while in the performance of his regular and responsible duties as a teacher of youth; and, notwithstanding the verdict of a corrupt and venal jury, the deliberate judgment of the heart and conscience of this community pronounces that killing to be murder.' The committee appointed by the meeting also requested Mr. Wolfe, one of the counsel for the prisoner, to resign his seat in the State Senate, and the Honourable Mr. Crittenden, another counsel, to resign his place in the Senate of the United States; effigies of the two brothers Ward were burnt, and a public subscription opened to raise a monument to the murdered Professor. I cannot, of course, decide how far the conclusions of the committee are just, as I do not pretend to know Kentucky law. I have however given the trial to members of the Bar in this country accustomed to deal with such cases, and they have without hesitation asserted that not one man in ten who has been hung in England has been condemned on more conclusive evidence. It is also apparent that in some parts of the Union the same opinion prevails, as the following paragraph from the *New York Daily Times* will clearly show:—'The trial is removed from the scene

of the homicide, so that the prisoners shall not be tried by those who knew them best, but is taken to a distant country. The Press is forbidden, against all law and right, to publish a report of the proceedings while the trial is in progress. Every particle of evidence in regard to Butler's character is excluded; while a perfect army of witnesses — clergymen, colonels, members of Congress, editors, cabinet officers, &c., who had enjoyed the social intimacy of the Wards—testified ostentatiously to the prisoner's mildness of temper, declaring him, with anxious and undisguised exaggeration, to be gentle and amiable to a fault. All these preparations, laboriously made and steadily followed up, were for the purpose, not of determining the truth, which is the only proper object of judicial inquiry—not of ascertaining accurately and truly whether Matthew Ward did or did not murder Butler—but to secure impunity for his act. This whole drama was enacted to induce the jury to affirm a falsehood; and it has succeeded. We do not believe John J. Crittenden entertains in his heart the shadow of a doubt that Butler was murdered; we do not believe that a single man on that jury believes that the man they have acquitted is innocent of the crime laid to his charge. We regard the issue of this trial as of the gravest importance; it proves that in

one State of this Union wealth is stronger than justice; that Kentucky's most distinguished sons take to their hearts and shield with all their power a murderer who has money and social position at his command; and that, under their auspices, legal tribunals and the most solemn forms of justice have been made to confer impunity on one of the blackest and most wanton murders which the annals of crime record.'

I add no comment, leaving the reader to make his own deductions, and I only hope, if the foregoing lines should ever meet the eye of a citizen belonging to the sovereign state of Kentucky, they may stir him up to amend the law or to purify the juries.

## CHAPTER X.

### *The Institution of Slavery.*

THERE is one subject which no person who pretends to convey to the reader the honest thoughts and impressions which occupied his mind during his travels in this vast Republic, can pass over in silence; and that subject, I need scarcely observe, is Slavery. It is an institution which deserves most serious consideration; for while a general unity of sentiment binds the various States together in a manner that justifies the national motto, '*E pluribus unum*,' the question of slavery alone hangs fearfully over their Union; and the thread by which it is suspended is more uncertain than the fragile hair of the sword of Damocles, for it is dependent upon the angry passions of angry man.

So true do I feel this to be, that were I a citizen of one of the Free States of America, I might hesitate before I committed my opinions to the Press. I trust, however, that I may so treat the subject that no cause for ill-blood may be given. Unquestion-

ably, the origin of the evil is wholly with the mother country. We entered into the diabolical traffic of our fellow-creatures, and forced the wretched negro upon a land which had never before received the impress of a slave's foot, and this we did despite all the remonstrances of the outraged and indignant colonists; and, with this revolting sin upon our shoulders, it is but natural we should feel deeply interested in the sable ivy-shoot we planted, and which now covers the whole southern front of the stately edifice of the Giant Republic. Time was when a Newcastle collier might have carried the sable shoot back to the soil whence it had been stolen; now, the keels of many nations combined would scarce suffice to move the rapid growth.

But, while at England's door lies the original guilt, America has since put the solemn seal of her paternity upon it; every foot of land which, in the rapid career of her aggrandisement, has been sullied with the footsteps of the slave for the first time, mars the beauty of the cap of liberty, and plants a slave-trader's star in the banner of the nation. She is only doing a century later what we wickedly did a century before—viz., planting slavery on a soil hitherto free, and enlarging the market for the sale of flesh and blood. The futile excuse sometimes offered, that they were merely

moved from one part to another of the same country, cannot be admitted; or, if it be, all the Free States might return again to slavery upon the same principle. If it be no sin to introduce slavery into a free sovereign State, then was England not so guilty in the first instance; for she sent slaves from a land of ignorance, cruelty, and idolatry, to an enlightened and Christian colony. It is in vain for either England or the United States to shirk the guilty responsibility of introducing slaves on free soil. England has the additional guilt of acting against the wishes of the colonists; the United States has the additional guilt of increasing slave territory a century later, and when the philanthropists of every country were busied in endeavours to solve the problem, 'How can slavery be abolished?'

Without dwelling further upon respective guilt, I will at once proceed to review the crusades which have been made against the institution, and the hopes of the slave under it; after which, I will offer for consideration such proposals as appear to me worthy the attention of all the true friends of the negro, whether owners or not. While thus treating the subject, I beg to observe that I fully recognise each individual State as possessing plenipotentiary powers within the limits of that constitution by which they are all bound

together; and I trust that, in any observations I may make, no one expression will be so misconstrued as to give offence, for I know full well the stupendous difficulties with which the whole question is surrounded, and I feel it is one which should be approached only in a true spirit of charity and kindness towards the much maligned gentlemen of the South.

I open the question by asking—what is the meaning of the cry raised by the fanatics of the North—the abolition crusaders? In words, it is freedom to the slave; in fact, it is spoliation of their neighbours. Had the proposition come from wild Arabs who live in houses they carry on their backs, and feed on the milk of flocks that pasture at their side, I might have comprehended the modest proposal; but coming from those whose energy for business is proverbial, and whose acuteness in all matters of dollars and cents is unsurpassed, if equalled, by the shrewdest Hebrew of the Hebrews, I confess it is beyond my puny imagination to fathom. Were it accompanied with any pecuniary offer adequate to the sacrifice proposed, I might be able to comprehend it, but for those, or the descendants of those who, as they found white labour more profitable, sold their sable brethren to their southern neighbours, and thus easily and profitably removed slavery from their borders,—for those, I say,

to turn round and preach a crusade for the emancipation of the negro, in homilies of contumely with the voice of self-righteousness, exhibits a degree of assurance that cannot be surpassed. Had they known as much of human nature as of the laws of profit and loss, they might have foreseen that in every epithet heaped upon their southern countrymen, they were riveting a fresh bolt in the slave's fetters. On what plea did the American colony rebel? Was it not, as a broad principle, the right of self-government? Does not their constitution allow independent action to each State, subject only to certain obligations binding alike on all? If those are complied with, on what principle of patriotism or honour do individuals or societies hurl torches of discord among their southern co-citizens?

No person who has watched or inquired into the social state of the slaves during the present century, can fail to have observed that much has been done to improve their condition among the respectable holders thereof, both as regards common education and religious instruction; at the same time, they will perceive that the first law of nature—self-preservation—compelled them to make common education penal, as soon as fanatical abolitionists inundated the country with firebrand pamphlets. No American can deny,

that when an oppressed people feel their chains galling to them, they have a right to follow the example of the colonists and strike for freedom. This right doubtless belongs to the negro, and these inflammable publications were calculated to lead them on to make the effort. But what reflecting mind can fail to foresee the horrors consequent upon such a hopeless endeavour? More especially must it have presented itself to the mind of the slave-masters; and could they, with sure visions before their eyes of the fearful sacrifice of human life, the breaking-up of whatever good feeling now exists between master and slave, and the inauguration of a reign of terror and unmitigated severity, could they, I say, with such consequences staring them in the face, have taken a more mild, sensible, and merciful step than checking that education, through the instrumentality of which the abolitionists were hastening forward so awful a catastrophe?

The following extract may suffice to prove the irritation produced by the abolitionists in Virginia, though of course I do not pretend to insinuate that the respectable portion of the community in that State would endorse its barbarous ravings:—

'SLAVERY IN THE SCHOOL-ROOM.—The (American) *Richmond Examiner*, in connexion with the recent trial of Ward of Kentucky, has the following theory on the extinction of schoolmasters in general:—'The South has for years been

overrun with hordes of illiterate, unprincipled graduates of the Yankee free schools (those hot-beds of self-conceit and ignorance), who have, by dint of unblushing impudence, established themselves as schoolmasters in our midst. So odious are some of these 'itinerant ignoramuses' to the people of the South; so full of abolitionism and concealed incendiarism are many of this class; so full of guile, fraud, and deceit, that the deliberate shooting one of them down, in the act of poisoning the minds of our slaves or our children, we think, if regarded as homicide at all, should always be deemed perfectly justifiable; and we imagine the propriety of shooting an abolition schoolmaster, when caught tampering with our slaves, has never been questioned by any intelligent Southern man. This we take to be the unwritten common law of the South, and we deem it advisable to promulgate the law, that it may be copied into all the abolition papers, thundered at by the three thousand New England preachers, and read with peculiar emphasis, and terrible up-turning of eyes, by Garrison, at the next meeting of the anti-slavery party at Faneuil Hall. We repeat, that the shooting of itinerant abolition schoolmasters is frequently a creditable and laudable act, entitling a respectable southern man to, at least, a seat in the legislature, or a place in the Common Council. Let all Yankee schoolmasters who propose invading the south, endowed with a strong nasal twang, a long scriptural name, and Webster's lexicographic book of abominations, seek some more congenial land, where their own lives will be more secure than in the 'vile and homicidal slave states.' We shall be glad if the ravings of the abolition press about the Ward acquittal shall have this effect.'

We now see that the abolitionists have rendered the education of the negro, with a view to his ulti-

mate fitness for freedom or self-government, utterly impracticable, however anxious the slave-owner might have otherwise been to instruct him. Thus, by their imprudent violence, they have effectually closed the educational pathway to emancipation. It should not either be forgotten that the Southerners may have seen good reason to doubt the Christian sincerity of those who clamoured so loudly for loosening the fetters of the slaves. The freed slaves in the Northern States must have frequently been seen by them year after year as they went for 'the season' to the watering-places, and could they observe much in his position there to induce the belief that the Northerners are the friends of the negro? In some cities, he must not drive a coach or a car; in others, he must not enter a public conveyance; in places of amusement, he is separated from his white friend; even in the house of that God with whom 'there is no respect of persons,' he is partitioned off as if he were an unclean animal; in some States he is not admitted at all.

With such evidences of friendship for the negro, might they not question the honesty of Northern champions of emancipation? Could they really place confidence in the philanthropic professions of those who treat the negro as an outcast, and force on him a life of wretchedness instead of striving to raise him

in the social scale? If a negro had the intellect of a Newton—if he were clothed in purple and fine linen, and if he came fresh from an Oriental bath, and fragrant as 'Araby's spices,' a Northerner would prefer sitting down with a polecat—he would rather pluck a living coal from the fire than grasp the hand of the worthiest negro that ever stepped. Who ever sees a negro in the North smile at the approach of the white man? Who has not seen a worthy planter or slave-owner returning from a short absence, greeted with smiles in abundance, or perhaps receiving a broad grin of pride and pleasure as the worthy owner gave his hand to some old faithful slave.

I think I have shown, in the foregoing remarks, that the Southern has three solid and distinct grounds of objection to the Free States abolitionist. First,—The natural spirit of man which rebels against wholesale vituperation and calumny. Secondly,—The obstacle they have placed in the way of giving the slave simple education, by introducing most inflammable pamphlets. Thirdly,—The questionable sincerity of their professed sympathy for the slave, as evidenced by the antipathy they exhibit towards the free negro, and by the palpable fact that he is far worse off in a free than in a slave State.

The same objection cannot justly be taken against

English abolitionists, because they act and think chiefly upon the evidence furnished by American hands; besides which, slavery in the West Indian colonies was felt by the majority of the nation to be so dark a stain upon our national character, that, although burdened with a debt such as the world never before dreamt of, the sum of £20,000,000 was readily voted for the purposes of emancipation. Whether the method in which the provisions of the act were carried out was very wise or painfully faulty, we need not stop to inquire; the object was a noble one, and the sacrifice was worthy of the object.

With all the feelings of that discussion fresh in the public mind, it is no wonder that philanthropists, reading the accounts published by American authors, of the horrors of slavery, should band themselves together for the purpose of urging America in a friendly tone to follow Great Britain's noble example, and to profit by any errors she had committed as to the method of carrying emancipation into effect. I am quite aware a slaveholder may reply, 'This is all very good; but I must have a word with you good gentlemen of England, as to sincerity. If you hold slavery so damnable a sin, why do you so greedily covet the fruits of the wages of that sin? The demand of your markets for slave produce

enhances the value of the slave, and in so doing clenches another nail in the coffin of his hopes.' I confess I can give no reply, except the humiliating confession which, if the feeling of the nation is to be read in its Parliamentary acts, amounts to this—'We have removed slavery from our own soil, and we don't care a farthing if all the rest of the world are slaves, provided only we can get cheap cotton and sugar,' &c. Mammon! Mammon! Mammon! is ever the presiding deity of the Anglo-Saxon race, whether in the Old or the New World.

There can be no doubt that the reception of Mrs. Beecher Stowe's work and person in England was very galling to many a Southerner, and naturally so; because it conveyed a tacit endorsement of all her assertions as to the horrors of the slavery system. When I first read *Uncle Tom*, I said, 'This will rather tend to rivet than to loosen the fetters of the slave, rousing the indignation of all the South against her and her associates.' Everything I have since seen, heard, and read, only tends to confirm my original impression. While I would readily give Mrs. Stowe a chaplet of laurel as a clever authoress, I could never award her a faded leaf as the negro's friend.

Let me now for a moment touch upon the treatment

of slaves. The farms of the wealthy planters, and the chapels with negro minister and negro congregation, bear bright evidence to the fact that negroes have their bodily and spiritual wants attended to, not forgetting also the oral teaching they often receive from the wife of the planter. But is that system universal? Those who would answer that question truthfully need not travel to the Southern States for documentary evidence. Is any human being fit to be trusted with absolute power over one of his fellow-creatures, however deeply his public reputation and his balance at the banker's may be benefited by the most moderate kindness to them? If every man were a Howard or a Wilberforce, and every woman a Fry or a Nightingale, the truth would be ever the same, and they would be the first to acknowledge it.—Man is unfit for irresponsible power.

Now the only bar before which the proprietor of slaves is likely to be arraigned is the bar of public opinion; and the influence which that knowledge will have upon his conduct is exactly in the inverse ratio to its need; for the hardened brute upon whom its influence is most wanted is the very person who, if he can escape lynching, is indifferent to public opinion. No Southerner can be affronted, if I say that he is not more Christian, kind-hearted, and mild-

tempered than his fellow-man in the Northern States, in France, or in England; and yet how constantly do we find citizens of those communities evincing unrestrained passions in the most brutal acts, and that with the knowledge that the law is hanging over their heads, and that their victims can give evidence against them; whereas, in the Slave States, provided the eye of a white man is excluded, there is scarce a limit to the torture which a savage monster may inflict upon the helpless slave, whose word cannot be received in evidence. It is as absurd to judge of the condition of the slave by visiting an amiable planter and his lady, as it would be to judge of the clothing, feeding, and comfort of our labouring population by calling at the town-house of the Duke of Well-to-do and carefully noting the worthy who fills an arm-chair like a sentry-box, and is yclept the porter. Look at him, with his hair powdered and fattened down to the head; behold him, as the bell rings, using his arms as levers to force his rotundity out of its case; then observe the pedestals on which he endeavours to walk; one might imagine he had been tapped for the dropsy half-a-dozen times, and that all the water had run into the calves of his legs. Is that a type of the poorer classes?

Where, then, are we to look for true data on which

to form an opinion of the treatment of the slave?—Simply by studying human nature and weighing human passions, and then inquiring by what laws they are held in check. Now, as to the laws, they amount to nothing, inasmuch as slave evidence is not admissible, and the possibility of any oppression, even to death itself, must frequently be, without any fear of punishment, in the hands of the owner. If law, then, affords the negro no efficient protection from human passions, where are we to look for it in human nature, except it be in the influences of Christianity, self-interest, or public opinion? The last of these, we have seen, is upon a sliding-scale of an inefficiency which increases in proportion to the necessity for its influence, and is therefore all but impotent for good.

Let us now consider self-interest. Will any one assert that self-interest is sufficient to restrain anger? How many a hasty word does man utter, or how many a hasty act does man commit, under the influence of passion he cannot or will not restrain—and that among his equals, who may be able to resent it, or in the face of law ready to avenge it! How prone are we all, if things go wrong from some fault of our own, to lose our temper and try to throw the blame on others, rather than admit the failure to be our own fault! Without dwelling upon the serious injury

people often do to themselves by unrestrained passion, think for a moment of the treatment frequently inflicted upon the poor animals over whom they rule absolute. Is not kindness to a horse the interest as well as the duty of the owner? and yet how often is he the unfortunate victim of the owner's rage or cruel disposition, while faithfully and willingly expending all his powers in the service of his tyrant master. If these things be so among equals, or comparative equals, and also in man's dealings with the lower orders of the creation, what chance has the poor slave, with the arm of legislative justice paralysed, and an arm nerved with human passion his only hope of mercy?—for self-defence, that first law of nature, is the highest crime he can be guilty of: and, while considering the mercenary view of self-interest, let it not be forgotten that an awful amount of human suffering is quite compatible with unimpaired health, and that a slave may be frequently under the lash and yet fully able to do his day's work.

The last influence we have to consider is indeed the brightest and best of all—Christianity: high on the brotherly arch of man's duty to his fellow-man, and forming its enduring keystone, we read, traced by Jehovah in imperishable letters, radiant with love, 'Do unto others as you would that they should do

unto you;' 'Love thy neighbour as thyself.' Surely it needs no words of mine to show, that a faithful history of the most Christian country in the most Christian times the world ever witnessed, would contain fearful evidence of the cruelty of man setting at nought the above blessed precept. Nay, more—I question if, viewed in its entire fulness, there is any one single command in Scripture more habitually disregarded. Proverbs are generally supposed to be a condensation of facts or experiences. Whence comes 'Every one for himself, and God for us all'? or, the more vulgar one, 'Go ahead, and the D——l take the hindmost'? What are they but concentrations of the fact that selfishness is man's ruling passion? What are most laws made for, but to restrain men by human penalties from a breach of the law of love? and, if these laws be needful in communities all the members of which, are equal in the eyes of the law, and even then be found inefficient for their purpose, as may be daily witnessed in every country, who will say that the influence of Christianity is sufficient protection to the poor slave?

There is only one other influence that I shall mention—that is habit; it acts for and against the slave. Thus, the kind and good, brought up among slaves, very often nursed by them, and grown up in

the continual presence of their gentleness and faithfulness, repay them with unmeasured kindness, and a sympathy in all their sickness and their sorrows, to a degree which I feel quite certain the most tender-hearted Christian breathing could never equal, if landed among slaves, for the first time, at years of maturity. The Christian planter's wife or daughter may be seen sitting up at night, cooking, nursing, tending an old sick and helpless slave with nearly, if not quite, the same affectionate care she would bestow upon a sick relation, the very friendlessness of the negro stimulating the benevolent heart. This is indeed the bright side of the influence of habit.—But the other side is not less true; and there the effect is, that a coarse, brutal mind, trained up among those it can bully with impunity, acquires a heartlessness and indifference to the negro's wants and sufferings that grow with the wretched possessor's growth. This is the dark side of the influence of habit.

Let two examples suffice, both of which I have upon the very best authority. A faithful slave, having grown up with his master's rising family, obtained his freedom as a reward for his fidelity, and was entrusted with the management of the property; realizing some money, he became the owner of slaves himself, from among whom he selected his wife, and to all of whom he showed the greatest consideration. Some time after, lying

upon his deathbed, he made his will, in which he bequeathed his wife and all his other negroes to his old master, giving as his reason, that, from his own lively recollections of his master's unvarying kindness to himself and the other slaves, he felt certain that in so doing he was taking the best means in his power of securing their future happiness.—What stronger evidence of the growth of kindness in the master's heart could possibly be desired? Here, then, is the effect of habit in a benevolent owner.—Now, turn to the opposite picture. A lady of New Orleans was accustomed to strip and flog a slave for the pleasure of witnessing sufferings which she endeavoured to render more acute by rubbing soft soap into the broken skin. Here you have the effect of habit upon a brutal mind.

To the credit of New Orleans be it recorded, that the knowledge of this atrocity having come to white ears, her house was broken open, every article it contained pulled out in the street and burnt; and, had she not succeeded in eluding search, the she-devil would have been most assuredly reduced to ashes with her own goods. America became too hot for her, and Providence alone knows the demon's cave of concealment.

Having thus passed in review the various influences bearing upon the treatment of the slave, and

seen how utterly inadequate they are to protect him from ill-treatment, who can wonder that the tales of real or supposed cruelty inflicted upon slaves by the Southerners, are received with indignation by both parties in the States? The virtuous and kind master, indignant at the thought of being included in the category of monsters, and the real savage, if possible, still more indignant, because his conscience brings home to his seared heart the truthfulness of the picture, even if it be overdrawn almost to caricature. And here it is curious to observe the different action of these two parties: the former, in the consciousness of a kind heart and a real desire for the negro's good, calmly states what has been done and is doing for the negro, and throws a natural veil of doubt over horrors so utterly repulsive to the feelings, that their existence is discredited;[a] the latter, with a shallowness

[a] The reader is particularly requested to give his attention to a letter in the *Appendix B*, written by Miss McIntosh, and intended as a reply to the courteous though ill-advised document sent from Stafford House. It does credit both to herself and her countrywomen, and presents a most favourable contrast to the answer, more generally read at the time, and which was signed Julia Gardiner Tyler. This latter is calculated to give a most unjust impression of American ladies, savouring as it does so strongly of the pen of a second-rate village attorney.

which Providence sometimes attaches to guilt, aware that some such accusations come too painfully and truthfully home, pronounce their own condemnation by their line of defence—recrimination.

Take, for example, the following extract from an article in a Slave State paper, entitled 'A Sequel to Uncle Tom's Cabin,' and in which Queen Victoria, under the guidance of a 'genius,' has the condition of her subjects laid bare before her.' After various other paragraphs of a similar nature, comes the following:—

'The sky was obscured by the smoke of hundreds of small chimneys and vast edifices, stretching in lines for miles and miles. The latter were crowded with women and children, young in years, but withered in form and feature. The countenances of the men were as colourless as the white fabric in their looms; their eyes sparkled with intelligence, but it was chiefly the intelligence of suffering, of privation, of keen sense of wrong, of inability to be better, of rankling hatred against existing institutions, and a furtive wish that some hideous calamity would bury them all in one common, undistinguishable ruin.

'"Are these the people?" groaned the Queen, as the cold damp of more than mortal agony moistened her marble forehead.

'"Not all of them!" sounded the voice in her ear, so sharply that her Majesty looked up eagerly, and saw written, in letters of fire, on the palace wall:—

'' 1. Every twelfth person in your dominions is a pauper, daily receiving parochial relief.

'' 2. Every twentieth person in your dominions is a destitute wanderer, with no roof but the sky—no home but a prison. They are the Ishmaelites of modern society; every one's hand is against them, and their hands are against every one.

'' 3. There are in Freeland 10,743,747 females; divide that number by 500,000, and you will find that nearly every twentieth woman in your dominions is—Oh! horror piled on horror!—a harlot!' '

Then follows the scene of a disconsolate female throwing herself over a bridge, the whole winding up with this charming piece of information, addressed by the genius to her Majesty:—

'In your own land, liberty, the absence of which in another is deplored, is, in its most god-like development, but a name—unless that may be termed liberty which practically is but vulgar license—license to work from rosy morn to dark midnight for the most scanty pittances—license to store up wealth in the hands and for the benefit of the few—license to bellow lustily for rival politicians—license to send children to ragged schools—license to sot in the ale-house—license to grow lumpish and brutal—license to neglect the offices of religion, to swear, to lie, to blaspheme—license to steal, to pander unchecked to the coarsest appetites, to fawn and slaver over the little great ones of the earth—license to creep like a worm through life, or bound through it like a wild beast; and, last and most precious of all—for it is untaxed—license to starve, to rot, to die, and be buried in a fœtid

pauper's grave, on which the sweet-smelling flowers sent to strew the pathway of man and woman with beauty, love, and hope, will refuse to grow, much less bloom.'

Setting aside all exaggerations, who does not recognise in the foregoing quotations 'the galled jade wincing'? Were the writer a kind owner of slaves, he might have replied to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by facts of habitual kindness to them, sufficient to prove that the authoress had entered into the region of romance; but in his recrimination he unconsciously displays the cloven hoof, and leaves no doubt on the mind that he writes under the impulse of a bitterly-accusing monitor within. It would be wasting time to point out the difference between a system which binds millions of its people in bondage to their fellow-man, a master's sovereign will their only practical protection, and a system which not only makes all its subjects equal in the eye of the law, and free to seek their fortunes wherever they list, but which is for ever striving to mitigate the distress that is invariably attendant upon an over-crowded population. But even granting that his assertions were not only true, but that they were entirely produced by tyrannical enactments, what justification would England's sins be for America's crimes? Suppose the House of Commons and the Lords Temporal and Spiritual obtained the royal

sanction to an act for kidnapping boys and grilling them daily for a table-d'hôte in their respective legislative assemblies, would such an atrocity—or any worse atrocity, if such be possible—in any respect alter the question of right and wrong between master and slave? Let any charge of cruelty or injustice in England be advanced on its own simple grounds, and, wherever it comes from, it will find plenty of people, I am proud and happy to say, ready to inquire into it, and to work hard for its removal; but when it comes in the shape of recrimination, who can fail to recognise an accusing conscience striving to throw the cloak of other people's sins over the abominations which that conscience is ever ringing in the writer's ears at home.

I must, however, state, that in speaking of the sufferings or injuries to which the slave is liable, I am not proclaiming them merely on the authority of Northern abolitionists, or on the deductions which I have drawn from human nature; many travellers have made similar charges. Miss Bremer writes:—'I beheld the old slave hunted to death because he dared to visit his wife,—beheld him mangled, beaten, recaptured, fling himself into the water of the Black River, over which he was re-taken into the power of his hard master—and the law was silent. I beheld a young woman struck, for a hasty word, upon the

temples, so that she fell down dead!—and the law was silent. I heard the law, through its jury, adjudicate between a white man and a black, and sentence the latter to be flogged when the former was guilty—and they who were honest among the jurymen in vain opposed the verdict. I beheld here on the shores of the Mississippi, only a few months since, a young negro girl fly from the maltreatment of her master, and he was a professor of religion, and fling herself into the river.'—*Homes of the New World.* Would Miss Bremer write these things for the press, as occurring under her own eye, if they were not true?

Then again, the Press itself in the South bears witness to what every one must admit to be an inhuman practice. How often must the reader of a Southern States' paper see children of the tenderest age, sometimes even under a year old, advertised for public sale. Did any one ever take up the New Orleans paper without seeing more than one such advertisement as the following?—

150 NEGROES FOR SALE.

Just arrived and for sale, at my old stand, No. 7, Moreau-street, Third Municipality, one

hundred and fifty young and likely NEGROES, consisting of field-hands, house servants and mechanics. They will be sold on reasonable terms for good paper or cash. Persons wishing to purchase will find it to their advantage to give me a call. [Sep. 30—6m.] WM. F. TALBOTT.

What happiness can the slave enjoy among a community where such an advertisement as the following can be tolerated, or, worse still, when, as in the present instance, it is sent forth under the sanction of the law? The advertisement is taken from a paper published at Wilmington, North Carolina.

$225 REWARD. STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, NEW HANOVER COUNTY. *Whereas*, complaint upon oath hath this day been made to us, two of the Justices of the Peace for the State and county aforesaid, by BENJAMIN HALLET, of the said county, that two certain male slaves belonging to him, named LOTT, aged about twenty-two years, five feet four or five inches high, and black, formerly belonging to LOTT WILLIAMS, of Onslow county; and BOB, aged about sixteen years, five feet high, and black; have absented themselves from their said master's service, and supposed to be lurking about this county, committing acts of felony and other misdeeds. These are, therefore, in the name of the State, aforesaid, to command the slaves forthwith to return home to their masters; and we do hereby, by virtue of the Act of the General Assembly in such cases made and provided, intimate and declare that *if the said* LOTT and BOB *do not return home and surrender themselves*, immediately after the publication of these presents, that ANY PERSON MAY KILL AND DESTROY THE SAID SLAVES, by such means as he or they may think fit, without accusation or impeachment of any crime or offence for so doing, and without incurring any penalty or forfeiture thereby.

Given under our hands and seals, this 28th day of February, 1853.

W. N. PEDEN, J. P., [Seal.]
W. C. BETTENCOURT, J. P. [Seal.]

$225 REWARD. Two Hundred Dollars will be given for negro LOTT, either dead or alive; and Twenty-five Dollars for BOB'S head, delivered to the subscriber in the town of Wilmington.

BENJAMIN HALLET.

March 2nd, 1853.

There is another evidence of a want of happiness among the slaves, which though silent and unheard, challenges contradiction,—I mean the annual escape of from one to two thousand into Canada, in spite not only of the natural difficulties and privations of the journey, but also of the fearful dread of the consequences of re-capture. Doubtless some of these may be fleeing from the dread of just punishment for offences against the law, but none can doubt that many more are endeavouring to escape from what they feel to be cruelty, injustice, and oppression.

I do not wish to pander to a morbid appetite for horrors, by gathering together under one view all the various tales of woe and misery which I have heard of, known, or seen. I think I have said enough to prove to any unprejudiced person that such things do, and must ever, exist under the institution of Slavery; and that although the statements of rabid abolitionists are often the most unwarranted exaggerations, the all but total denial of their occurrence by the slave-owners is

also not correct. The conviction forced upon my own mind, after much thought and inquiry on this most interesting topic is, that there are many dark clouds of cruelty in a sky which is bright with much of the truest and kindest sympathy for the poor slave.

I now propose to take a short review of the progress and real state of slavery; and I will commence by giving *in extenso* an enactment which materially affects the negro, and—as I have before observed—has more than once threatened the Republic with disunion:—

Section 2—Privileges of Citizens.—Clause 3. 'No person held to service or labour in one State under the laws thereof, escaping to another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.'

Of course the word 'slave' would have read strangely among a community who set themselves up as the champions of the 'equal rights of man;' but, it is clear that, according to this clause in the constitution which binds the Republic together, every Free State is compelled to assist in the recapture of a fugitive slave.

What was the exact number of slaves at the date of this law being passed, I have not the means of

ascertaining: at the beginning of the century it was under 900,000; in the Census of 1850 they had increased to 3,200, 000.[a] There were originally

[a] *List of States and Territories forming the Confederation. Those marked* S *are Slave-holding States.*

ORIGINAL STATES.

| | |
|---|---|
| New Hampshire | S. Delaware |
| Massachusetts | S. Maryland |
| Rhode Island | S. Virginia |
| Connecticut | S. North Carolina |
| New York | S. South Carolina |
| New Jersey[b] | S. Georgia |
| Pennsylvania | |

NEW STATES.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Vermont . . . . | 1791 | S. Missouri . . . . 1821 |
| S. | Kentucky . . . . | 1792 | S. Arkansas . . . . 1836 |
| S. | Tennessee . . . . | 1796 | Michigan . . . . 1837 |
| | Ohio . . . . . | 1802 | S. Florida . . . . . 1845 |
| S. | Louisiana . . . . | 1812 | S. Texas . . . . . 1845 |
| | Indiana . . . . | 1816 | Iowa . . . . . 1846 |
| S. | Mississippi . . . | 1817 | Wisconsin . . . . 1848 |
| | Illinois . . . . . | 1818 | California . . . . 1850 |
| S. | Alabama . . . . | 1819 | S. Nebraska . . . . 1855 |
| | Maine . . . . | 1820 | S. Columbia District . 1791 |

TERRITORIES.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Oregon . . . . . | 1848 | S. Utah . . . . . 1850 |
| | Minnesota. . . . | 1849 | New Mexico . . . 1850 |

[b] I believe the last slave has been removed from New Jersey.—H. A. M.

13 States. At present there are 33; besides territory not yet incorporated into States. The Slave States are 17, or more than half. Thus much for increase of the slave and the slave soil. But, it will naturally be asked, how did it happen that as the additional soil was incorporated, the sable workmen appeared as if by magic? The answer is very simple. The demand regulated the supply, and slave breeding became a most important feature in the system; thus the wants of the more Southern States became regularly lessened by large drafts from Maryland, Kentucky, and Virginia. Anybody desirous of testing the truth of this statement will find statistical data to assist him in an unpretending volume, by Marshall Hall, M.D., &c., *On Twofold Slavery*, which I read with much interest, although I cannot agree with him in everything.[a]

I am aware that residents in these breeding States are to be found who would scorn to utter a wilful falsehood, and who deny this propagation of the human chattel for the flesh market; but there can be little doubt that the unbiased seeker after truth will

[a] Between 1810 and 1850 the slave population in Virginia has only increased from 392,000 to 470,000, while in Tenessee it has increased from 44,000 to 240,000; and in Louisiana, from 35,000 to 240,000.

find that such is the case. And why not? Why should those who make their livelihood by trafficking in the flesh of their fellow-creatures hesitate to increase their profits by paying attention to the breeding of them? These facts do not come under the general traveller's eye, because, armed with letters of introduction, he consorts more with worthy slave-owners, who, occupied with the welfare of those around and dependent upon them, know little of the world beyond; in the same way as in England, a Christian family may be an example of patriarchal simplicity and of apostolic zeal and love, and yet beyond the circle of their action, though not very far from its circumference, the greatest distress and perhaps cruelty may abound. How many of the dark spots on our community has the single zeal of the Earl of Shaftesbury forced upon the public mind, of which we were utterly ignorant, though living in the midst of them. The degraded female drudge in a coal-pit, the agonized infant in a chimney, and the death-wrought child in a factory—each and all bear testimony to how much of suffering may exist while surrounded by those whose lives are spent in Christian charity. And so it is in every community, Slave States included. Christian hearts, pregnant with zeal and love, are diffusing blessings around them; and,

occupied with their noble work,' they know little of the dark places that hang on their borders. The Southern planter and his lady may be filled with the love of a St. John, and radiate the beams thereof on every man, woman, and child under their guardianship, and then, 'measuring other people's corn by their own lovely bushel,' they may well hesitate to believe in the existence of a profligate breeding Pandemonium within the precincts of their immediate country. Yet, alas! there can be little doubt that it does exist.

Let us now fix our attention on the actual facts of the case which all parties admit. First, we have a slave population of 3,200,000. I think, if I estimate their marketable value at £80 a head, I shall be considerably below the truth. That gives us, in human flesh, £250,000,000. Secondly, let us take the product of their labour. The Slave States raise annually—

| | |
|---|---|
| Rice . . . . . | 215,000,000 lbs. |
| Tobacco . . . . . | 185,000,000 ,, |
| Sugar . . . . . | 248,000,000 ,, |
| Cotton . . . . . | 1,000,000,000 ,, |
| Molasses . . . . . | 12,000,000 gallons. |
| Indian Corn . . . . . | 368,000,000 bushels. |

Estimating these at a lower value than they have ever fallen to, you have here represented £80,000,000

sterling of annual produce from the muscle and sinew of the slave.[a] Surely the wildest enthusiast, did he but ponder over these facts, could not fail to pause ere he mounted the breach, shouting the rabid war-cry of abolition, which involves a capital of £250,000,000, and an annual produce of £80,000,000.

The misery which an instantaneous deliverance of the slave would cause by the all but certain loss of the greater portion of the products above enumerated, must be apparent to the least reflecting mind. If any such schemer exist, he would do well to study the history of our West India islands since their sudden emancipation, especially since free-trade admitted slave produce on equal terms with the produce of free labour. Complaints of utter ruin are loud and constant from the proprietors in nearly every island; they state, and state with truth, that it is impossible for free labour at a high price, and which can only be got perhaps for six hours a day, to compete with the steady slave work of twelve hours a day; and they show that slaveholding communities have materially increased their products,

[a] I take no notice of the various other valuable productions of these States: they may fairly represent the produce of the white man's labour.

which can only have been effected by a further taxing of the slave's powers, or a vast increase of fresh human material.[a] But they further complain that the negro himself is sadly retrograding. 'They attend less to the instruction of their religious teachers; they pay less attention to the education of their children; vice and immorality are on the increase,' &c.—*Petition to the Imperial Parliament from St. George's, Jamaica,* July, 1852.

I might multiply such statements from nearly every island, and quote the authority even of some of their governors to the same effect; but the above are sufficient for my purpose. They prove three most important facts for consideration, when treating the question of Slavery. First, that you may ruin the planter. Secondly, that you may free—without benefiting—the slave. Thirdly, that each State, as it becomes free, tends to give additional value to the property of those States which choose to hold on to slavery; and all these results may occur despite the wisdom (?) of senators, and an indemnity of £20,000,000.

Surely, then, the Southern planter may well assert that he sees not sufficient inducement to follow our

[a] *Vide* vol. i., ch. xii., 'The Queen of the Antilles.'

hasty wholesale example. But while such convictions are forced upon him, he will be a degenerate son of energetic sires, if he be so scared at our ill-success as to fear to look for some better path to the same noble object; and there is one most important consideration which should impel him, while avoiding all rash haste, to brook no dangerous delay; that consideration is, that the difficulty of dealing with the question is increasing with fearful rapidity, for the slave population has nearly quadrupled itself since the beginning of the century. The capital involved is, we have seen, gigantic; but the question of numbers is by far the most perplexing to deal with, in a social point of view. The white population of the Slave States is, in rough numbers, 6,000,000; the slave population is more than 3,000,000, and the free blacks 250,000. Does any sane man believe that, if slavery had existed in Great Britain, and that the slaves had constituted one-third of the population, we should have attempted to remove the black bar from our escutcheon, by the same rapid and summary process which we adopted to free the negro in our colonies?

An American writer on Slavery has said, and I think most justly, 'that two distinct races of people, nearly equal in numbers, and unlike in colour,

manners, habits, feelings, and state of civilization to such a degree that amalgamation is impossible, cannot dwell together in the same community unless the one be in subjection to the other.' So fully am I convinced of the truth of this statement, and so certain am I that every one who has been in a Slave State must be satisfied of the truth of it, that I feel sure, if the South freed every slave to-morrow, not a week would elapse before each State in the Union without exception would pass stringent laws to prevent them settling within their borders; even at this moment such a law exists in some States.

With all these difficulties constantly before them, who can wonder that a kind-hearted planter, while gazing on the cheerful and happy faces of his well-fed and well-housed slaves, should look distrustfully at emancipation, and strive to justify to his conscience opposition to any plan, however gradual, which leads thereto. Nevertheless, however satisfied in his mind that the slaves are kindly treated, and that harshness even is never used, he cannot contemplate the institution from a sufficient distance to be beyond its influences, without feeling that emancipation is the goal towards which his thoughts should ever bend, and that in proportion as the steps towards it must be gradual, so should they speedily commence. But how?

Washington, while confessing his most earnest desire for abolition, declares his conviction that 'it can only be effected by legislative authority.'

The next chapter will detail such propositions as, in my humble opinion, appear most worthy of the consideration of the Legislature, with a view to the gradual removal of the black star from the striped banner.

## CHAPTER XI.

### *Hints for Master—Hopes for Slave.*

I WILL now suggest certain proposals,[a] in the hope that, while they can do no harm, they may by chance lead to some good result. The first proposal is a very old one, and only made by me now, because I consider it of primary importance—I mean a 'Free-Soil' bill. I advocate it upon two distinct grounds—the one affecting the Republic, the other the slave. The Republic sanctions and carries on the slave-trade by introducing the institution into land hitherto free, and the slave throughout the Union has his fetters tightened by the enhancement of his value; but the great Channing has so fully and ably argued the truth of these evils, when treating of the annexation of Texas, that none but the wilfully blind can fail to be convinced: in short, if Slavery is to be introduced into land hitherto free, it is perhaps questionable if it be not better to send for the ill-used and degraded slave from Africa, and leave the more elevated slave

[a] Many of my suggestions, the reader will observe, are drawn from the Cuba code.

in his comparatively happy home in the old Slave States; the plea may be used for bettering the condition of the former, but that plea cannot be used for the latter.

The next proposal is one which, if it came from the South, would, I suppose, have the support of all the kind masters in those States, and most assuredly would find no opposition in the North, — I mean the expulsion from the Constitution of that law by which fugitive slaves are forced to be given up.* If the proposal came from the North, it would naturally excite ill-feeling in the South, after all the angry passions which abolition crusading has set in action; but the South might easily propose it: and when we see the accounts of the affectionate attachment of the slaves to their masters, and of the kindness with which they are treated, in proportion as such statements are correct, so will it follow as a consequence, that none but those who are driven to it by cruelty will wish to leave their snug homes and families, to seek for peace in the chilly winters of the North. And surely the slaves who are victims of cruelty, every kind-hearted slave-master would rejoice to see escaping; it would only be the compulsory giving up of fugitives, except for criminal offences,

* *Vide* page 226.

which would be expunged; each individual State would be able, if desirous, to enter into any mutual arrangement with any other State, according to their respective necessities. This proposal has two advantages: one, that it removes a bone of bitter contention ever ready to be thrown down between the North and the South; and the other, that it opens a small loophole for the oppressed to escape from the oppressor.

The next proposal I have to make, is one which, as every year makes it more difficult, merits immediate attention,—and that is, the providing a territory of refuge. No one for a moment can doubt that the foundation of Liberia was an act of truly philanthropic intent, reflecting credit upon all parties concerned in it; but it must, I fear, be acknowledged that it is totally unequal to the object in view. No further evidence of this need be adduced, than the simple fact, that, for every negro sent to Liberia, nearer twenty than ten are born in the States. Dame Partington's effort to sweep back the incoming tide with a hair-broom promised better hopes of success; a brigade of energetic firemen would drain off Lake Superior in a much shorter space of time, than Liberian colonization would remove one-third of the slave population. The scheme is in the right direc-

tion, but as insufficient to overcome the difficulty as a popgun is to breach a fortified city; the only method of effectually enabling the system of colonization to be carried out, is—in my humble opinion—by setting apart some portion of the unoccupied territory of the Union as a negro colony. In making the selection, a suitable climate should be considered, in justice to the health of the negro, as it is clear, from the fate of those who fly from persecution to Canada, that they are unable to resist cold; and proximity to the ocean is desirable, as affording a cheap conveyance for those who become manumitted: the expense of a passage to Liberia is one great obstacle to its utility.

The quantity of land required for such a purpose would be very small; and stringent regulations as to the negro leaving the territory so granted, would effectually prevent any inconvenience to the neighbouring States. I have before shown that the comparative number of whites and blacks — whites 6,000,000, and blacks 3,000,000—renders it all but, if not quite, impossible for the two races to live together free. I have also shown that the Northern States either refuse to admit them, or pass such laws respecting them, that slavery under a good master is a paradise by comparison. I have further shown that Liberia is, from its distance, so expensive for their

removal, as to be of but little assistance, and Canada too often proves an early grave. If, then, these difficulties present themselves with a population of 3,000,000 slaves, and if they are increasing their numbers rapidly—which statistics fully prove to be the case—it is clear that these difficulties must augment in a corresponding ratio, until at last they will become insurmountable. I therefore come to the conclusion, either that territory must be set apart in America itself for the negro's home, or that the black bar of slavery must deface the escutcheon of the Republic for ever.

I now propose to make a few remarks on the treatment of slaves. As to the nature of that treatment, I have already given my calm and unbiased opinion. My present observations refer to corporal punishment, and the implements for the infliction therof. Of the latter I have seen four; of course there may be many others; I speak only of those that have come under my own eye. The four I have seen are first, the common hunting-whip, which is too well known to require description. Secondly, the cowhide—its name expresses its substance — when wet, it is rolled up tightly and allowed to dry, by which process it becomes as hard as the raw hide commonly seen in this country; its shape is that of a racing-whip, and its

length from four to five feet. Thirdly, the strap, *i. e.*, a piece off the end of a stiff heavy horse's trace, and about three or three and a half feet in length. Fourthly, the paddle; *i.e.*, a piece of white oak about an inch thick all through, the handle about two inches broad, and rather more than two feet long, the blade about nine inches long by four and a quarter broad. The two latter implements I found upon inquiry were of modern date, and the reason of their introduction was, that the marks of the punishment inflicted thereby became more speedily effaced; and as upon the sale of a slave, if, when examined, marks of punishment are clearly developed, his price suffers from the impression of his being obstreperous, the above-named articles of punishment came into favour.

The foregoing observations—without entering into the respective merits of the four instruments—are sufficient to prove that no one definite implement for corporal punishment is established by law, and consequently, that any enactment appointing a limit to the number of stripes which may be given is an absurdity, however well intended. Forty stripes is I believe the authorized number. A certain number of blows, if given with a dog-whip, would inflict no injury beyond the momentary pain, whereas the same number inflicted with a heavy walking-stick might

lame a man for life. Again, I know of no law in the States prohibiting the corporal punishment of any slave, of whatever age or sex; at all events, grown-up girls and mothers of families are doomed to have their persons exposed to receive its infliction. Of this latter fact, I am positive, though I cannot say whether the practice is general or of rare occurrence.

I have entered rather fully into a description of the implements of punishment, to show the grounds upon which I make the following proposals:—First, that a proper instrument for flogging be authorized by law, and that the employment of any other be severely punished. Secondly, that the number of lashes a master may inflict, or order to be inflicted, be reduced to a minimum, and that while a greater number of lashes are permitted for grave offences, they be only administered on the authority of a jury or a given number of magistrates. Thirdly, that common decency be no longer outraged by any girl above fifteen receiving corporal punishment.[a] Fourthly, that by State enactment—as it now sometimes is by municipal regulation—no master in any

[a] In Peru, the maximum of stripes the law permits to be inflicted is twelve; and girls above fourteen, married women, fathers of children, and old men, are exempt from the lash.

town be permitted to inflict corporal punishment on a slave above fifteen; those who have passed that age to be sent to the jail, or some authorized place, to receive their punishment, a faithful record whereof, including slave and owner's names, to be kept. My reasons for this proposal are, that a man will frequently punish on the spur of the moment, when a little reflection would subdue his anger, and save the culprit. Also, that it is my firm conviction that a great portion of the cruelty, of which slaves are the victims, is caused by half educated owners of one or two slaves, who are chiefly to be found in towns, and upon whom such a law might operate as a wholesome check. Such a law would doubtless be good in all cases, but the distances of plantations from towns would render it impossible to be carried out, and, I am sorry to say, I have no suggestion to make by which the slaves on plantations might be protected, in those cases where the absence of the owners leaves them entirely at the mercy of the driver, which I believe to be the cause of by far the greatest amount of suffering they endure, though I trust many drivers are just and merciful. Fifthly, that the law by which negroes can hold slaves should immediately be abolished. The white man holding a slave is bad enough, but nothing can justify the

toleration of the negro holding his own flesh and blood in fetters, especially when the door of Education is hermetically sealed against him.

In addition to the foregoing suggestions for the regulation of punishment, I would propose that any master proved guilty of inflicting or tolerating gross cruelty upon a slave, should forfeit every slave he may possess to the State, and be rendered incapable of again holding them, and that copies of such decisions be sent to each county in the State. In connexion with this subject, there is another point of considerable importance—viz., the testimony of slaves. As matters now stand, or are likely to stand for some time to come, there appear insuperable objections to the testimony of a slave being received on a par with that of a white man, and this constitutes one of the greatest difficulties in enabling the negro to obtain justice for any injury he may have sustained. It appears to me, however, that a considerable portion of this difficulty might be removed by admitting a certain number of slaves—say three—to constitute one witness. Cross-examination would easily detect combination or falsehood, and a severe punishment attached to such an offence would act as a powerful antidote to its commission. Until some system is arranged for receiving negro evidence in some shape, he must continue the hopeless victim of frequent injustice.

The next subject I propose to consider is a legalized system, having for its object the freedom of the slave. To accomplish this I would suggest that the State should fix a fair scale of prices, at which the slave might purchase his freedom, one price for males and another for females under twenty, and a similar arrangement of price between the ages of twenty and fifty, after which age the slave to be free and receive some fixed assistance, either from the State or the master, as might be thought most just and expedient. To enable the slave to take advantage of the privilege of purchasing his freedom, it would be requisite that the State should have banks appointed in which he might deposit his savings at fair interest; but to enable him to have something to deposit, it is also requisite that some law should be passed compelling owners to allow a slave certain portions of time to work out for himself, or if preferred, to work for the master, receiving the ordinary wages for the time so employed, and this, of course, in addition to the Sunday. As, however, among so many masters, some will be cruel and do their utmost to negative any merciful laws which the State may enact, I would for the protection of the slave propose that, if he feel discontented with the treatment of his master, he be allowed to claim the right of being publicly sold, upon giving a certain number of days' warning of such desire on his part;

or if he can find any slave-owner who will give the price fixed by law—as before suggested—and is willing to take him, his master to be bound to deliver him up. With regard to the sale of slaves, I think humanity will justify me in proposing that no slave under fifteen years of age be sold or transferred to another owner without the parents also; and secondly, that husband and wife be never sold or transferred separately, except it be by their own consent. However rarely such separations may take place at present, there is no law to prevent the cruel act, and I have every reason to believe it takes place much oftener than many of my kind-hearted plantation friends would be ready to admit.

Looking forward to the gradual, but ultimately total abolition of slavery, I would next suggest that after a certain date—say ten years—every slave, upon reaching thirty years of age, be apprenticed by his master to some trade or occupation for five years, at the expiration of which time he be free; after another fixed period—say ten years—all slaves above twenty years of age be similarly treated; and after a third period, I would propose that the United States should follow the noble example long since set them by *Peru*, and make it an integral part of their constitution that '*no one is born a slave in the Republic.*'

The next proposal I have to make is one which I cannot but hope that all Americans will feel the propriety of, inasmuch as the present system is, in my estimation, one the blackest of features of the institution we are considering. I allude to the slavery of Americans themselves. In nearly every civilized nation in the world, blood is considered to run in the father's line, and although illegitimacy forfeits inheritance, it never forfeits citizenship. How is it in the United States? *There the white man's offspring is to be seen in fetters—The blood of the free in the market of the slave.* No one can have travelled in the Southern States without having this sad fact forced upon his observation. Over and over again have I seen features, dark if you will, but which showed unmistakeably the white man's share in their parentage. Nay, more—I have seen slaves that in Europe would pass for German blondes. Can anything be imagined more horrible than a free nation trafficking in the blood of its co-citizens? Is it not a diabolical premium on iniquity, that the fruit of sin can be sold for the benefit of the sinner? Though the bare idea may well nauseate the kind and benevolent among the Southerners, the proof of parentage is stamped by Providence on the features of the victims, and their slavery is incontrovertible evidence that the offspring

of Columbia's sons may be sold at human shambles. Even in Mussulman law, the offspring of the slave girl by her master is declared free; and shall it be said that the followers of Christ are, in any one point of mercy, behind the followers of the false prophet? My proposition, then, is, that every slave who is not of pure African blood, and who has reached, or shall reach, the age of thirty, be apprenticed to some trade for five years, and then become free; and that all who shall subsequently be so born, be free from their birth, and of course, that the mother who is proved thus to have been the victim of the white man's passion be manumitted as well as her child.

I make no proposal about the spiritual instruction of the slave, as I believe that as much is given at present as any legislative enactment would be likely to procure; but I have one more suggestion to make, and it is one without which I fear any number of acts which might be passed for the benefit of the slave, would lose the greater portion of their value. That suggestion is, the appointment of a sufficient number of officers, selected from persons known to be friendly to the slave, to whom the duty of seeing the enactments strictly carried out should be delegated.

While ruminating on the foregoing pages, a kind of vision passed before my mind. I beheld a deputa-

tion of Republicans—among whom was one lady—approaching me. Having stated that they had read my remarks upon Slavery, I immediately became impressed in their favour, and could not refuse the audience they requested. I soon found the deputation consisted of people of totally different views, and consequently each addressed me separately.

The first was an old gentleman, and a determined advocate of the institution. He said, 'Your remarks are all bosh; the African race were born slaves, and have been so for centuries, and are fit for nothing else.'—I replied, 'I am quite aware of the effect of breeding; we have a race of dog in England which, from their progenitors of many successive generations having had their tails cut off in puppyhood, now breed their species without tails; nay, more—what are all our sporting dogs but evidence of the same fact? A pointer puppy stands instinctively at game, and a young hound will run a fox; take the trouble, for many generations, to teach the hound to point and the pointer to run, and their two instincts will become entirely changed. The fact, sir, is that the African having been bred a slave for so many generations is one great cause of his lower order of intellect; breed him free and educate him, and you will find the same result in him as in the dog.'—He was about to

reply, when another of the deputation rose and reminded him they had agreed to make but one observation each, and to receive one answer. I rejoiced at this arrangement, as it saved me trouble and gave me the last word.

A very touchy little slaveholder next addressed me, saying, 'Pray, sir, why can't you leave us alone, and mind your own business?'—I replied, 'As for leaving you alone, I am quite ready to do so when you have left the negro alone; but as for exclusively attending to my own business, that would be far too dull; besides, it is human nature to interfere with other people's affairs, and I can't go against nature.'—He retired, biting his lip, and as the door closed, I thought I heard the words 'Meddling ass!'—but I wont be sure.

Next came a swaggering bully of a slave-driver, evidently bred in the North. He said, 'This, sir, is a free country; why mayn't every master wallop his own nigger?'—I thought it best to cut him short; so I said, 'Because, if freedom is perfect, such a permission would involve its opposite—viz., that every nigger may wallop his own master; and your antecedents, I guess, might make such a law peculiarly objectionable to you personally.'—He retired, eyeing first me and then his cowhide in a very significant manner.

The next spokesman was a clerical slaveholder, with a very stiff and very white neckcloth, hair straight and long, and a sanctified, reproof-ful voice. 'Sir,' said he, 'why endeavour to disturb an institution that Scripture sanctions, and which provides so large a field for the ministrations of kindness and sympathy—two of the most tender Christian virtues?' A crocodile tear dropped like a full stop to finish his sentence. Irascibility and astonishment were struggling within me when I heard his speech; but memory brought St. Paul to my aid, who reminded me he had before written certain words to the Corinthian Church—'Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light; therefore it is no great thing if his ministers also be transformed,' &c. Thereupon I became calmer, and replied, 'Sir, you are perfectly aware that our Saviour's mission was to the heart of man, and not to the institutions of man. Did He not instruct his subjugated countrymen to pay tribute to Cæsar? and did He not set the example in his own person? Did He not instruct his disciples in the same breath, 'Fear God: honour the king?'—and is it not elsewhere written, 'But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil?' You are also perfectly aware that the American colonies refused to pay tribute to their Cæsar, refused to honour their king, and did resist the evil. Now, sir, these things

being so, you are compelled to admit one of two alternatives—either the whole of your countrymen are rebels against the Most High, and therefore aliens from God, or else, as I before said, the mission of the Gospel is to the hearts and not to the institutions of man. I see, sir, by the way you winced under the term 'rebel,' that you accept the latter alternative. If, then, it be addressed to the heart of man, it is through that channel—as it becomes enlarged by those virtues of which you spoke, kindness and sympathy—that human institutions are to become modified to suit the growing intelligence and growing wants of the human race, the golden rule for man's guidance being, Do as you would be done by. Be kind enough, sir, to look at Mr. Sambo Cæsar working under the lash in a Carolina rice swamp; behold Mrs. Sambo Cæsar torn from his bosom, and working under the same coercive banner in Maryland; and little Master Pompey, the only pledge of their affections, on his way to Texas. Is not this a beautiful comment on the Divine command, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself'? Permit me, sir, with all due respect, to urge you not to rest satisfied with preaching Christian resignation to the slave, and Christian kindness to the owner, but to seize every opportunity of fearlessly asserting that slavery is at variance with

the spirit of the Gospel, and therefore that it behoves all Christians so to modify and change the laws respecting it, as gradually to lead to its total extinction. Good morning.'—The reverend gentleman, who during the latter part of my observations had buried his hands in the bottom of his tail pockets, no sooner saw that I had finished my remarks, than he hastily withdrew his hands, exhibiting in one a Testament, in the other a Concordance; he evidently was rampant for controversy, but the next deputy, who thought I had already devoted an unfair proportion of time to the minister, reminded him of the regulations, and he was obliged to retire, another deputy opening the door for him as both his hands were full.

The deputy who next rose to address me was accompanied by the lady, whom of course I begged to be seated. The husband—for such he proved to be—then spoke as follows:—'Sir, my wife and I have now been in possession of a plantation for nearly twenty years. During all that period the rod has scarcely ever been used, except occasionally to some turbulent little boy. We have built cottages for our slaves; we allow them to breed poultry, which we purchase from them; old slaves are carefully nurtured and exempt from labour; the sick have the best of

medical attendance, and are in many cases ministered to by my wife and daughter; the practical truths of Christianity are regularly taught to them; and every slave, I am sure, looks upon me and my family as his truest friends. This happy state, this patriarchal relationship, your proposals, if carried out, would completely overthrow.'—He was then silent, and his wife bowed an assent to the observations he had made. My heart was touched with the picture of the little negro paradise which he had given, and I replied, as mildly as possible, 'The sketch you have so admirably drawn, and every word of which I fully believe, is indeed one which might dispose me to abandon my proposals for change, did any one which I had made interfere with the continuance of your benevolent rule, as long as slavery exists; but I must call your attention to an important fact which you, I fear, have quite overlooked during your twenty years of kind rule. To be brief—the cheerful homes of your happy negro families can afford no possible consolation to the less fortunate negroes, whose wives and children are torn from their bosoms and sold in separate lots to different parts of the Union; nor will the knowledge, that on your plantation the rod only falls occasionally on some turbulent child, be any comfort to grown-up negroes and negresses while

writhing under thirty or forty stripes from the cow-hide or paddle. Continue, most excellent people, your present merciful rule; strive to secure to every negro the same treatment; and if you find that impossible, join the honourable ranks of the temperate and gradual abolitionist and colonizer.'—They listened patiently to my observations, smiled quietly at the vanity which they thought the last sentence exhibited, and retired.

Scarce had the last charming couple disappeared, when a deputy arose, the antipodes of the last speaker; his manner was so arrogant, I instantly suspected his ignorance, and his observations showed such painful sensitiveness, that they were evidently the production of an accusing conscience. His parentage I could not ascertain accurately; but being a slight judge of horseflesh, I should suspect he was by 'Slavebully' out of 'Kantankerousina,'—a breed by no means rare in America, but thought very little of by the knowing ones. On referring to the list, I found he was entered as 'Recriminator,' and that the rest of the deputation had refused to give him a warranty. He sprang up with angry activity; he placed his left hand on his breast, the right he extended with cataleptic rigidity, and with an expression of countenance which I can only compare to that of an injured female of

unspotless virtue, he began, 'You, sir,—yes, I say, you, sir,—you presume to speak of the slave,—you, sir, who come from a nation of slaves, whose rampant aristocrats feed on the blood of their serfs, where title is another word for villany, and treads honesty beneath its iron heel! You, sir, you offer suggestions for the benefit of a country whose prosperity excites your jealousy, and whose institutions arouse mingled feelings of hatred and fear! Go home, sir,—go home! —no more of your canting hypocrisy about the lusty negro! go home, sir, I say—enrich your own poor, clothe your own naked, and feed your own starving! —the negro here is better off than most of them! Imitate the example of this free and enlightened nation, where every citizen is an independent sovereign; send your royalty and aristocracy to all mighty smash,—raise the cap of Liberty on the lofty pole of Democracy, and let the sinews of men obtain their just triumphs over the flimsy rubbish of intellect and capital. Tyranny alone makes differences. All men are equal!'—He concluded his harangue just in time to save a fit, for it was given with all the fuss and fury of a penny theatre King Richard,—in fact, I felt at one time strongly inclined to call for 'a horse,'—but having accepted the deputation, I was bound to treat its members with courtesy, so I replied, 'Sir, your

elegantly expressed opinions of royalty, &c., require nothing but ordinary knowledge to show their absurdity, so I will not detain you by dwelling on that subject; but, sir, you studiously avoid alluding to the condition of the slave, and, by seeking for a fault elsewhere, endeavour to throw a cloak over the subject of this meeting. You tell me the poor in England need much clothing and food,—that is very true; but, sir, if every pauper had a fur cloak and a round of beef, I cannot see the advantage the negro would derive therefrom. Again, sir, you say the negro is better off than many of our poor,—so he is far better off than many of the drunken rowdies of your own large towns; yet I have never heard it suggested that they should be transformed into slaves, by way of bettering their condition. Take my advice, sir,—before you throw stones, be sure that there is not a pane of glass in your cap of Liberty big enough for 3,000,000 of slaves to look through. And pray, sir, do not forget, 'Tyranny alone makes differences. All men are equal!'

A slam of the door announced the departure and the temper of Recriminator, and it also brought upon his feet another deputy who had kept hitherto quite in the background. He evidently was anxious for a private audience, but that being impossible, he whis-

pered in my ear, 'Sir, I am an abolitionist, slick straight off, and all I have got to say is, that you are a soap-suddy, milk-and-water friend to the slave, fix it how you will.'—Seeing he was impatient to be off I whispered him in reply, 'Sir, there is an old prayer that has often been uttered with great sincerity, and is probably being so uttered now by more than one intelligent slave: it is this, 'Good Lord, save me from my friends.' The exertions of your party, sir, remind me much of those of a man who went to pull a friend out of the mud, but, by a zeal without discretion, he jumped on his friend's head, and stuck him faster than ever.'

When he disappeared, I was in hopes it was all over; but a very mild-tempered-looking man, with a broad intelligent forehead, got up, and approaching me in the most friendly manner, said, 'Sir, I both admit and deplore the evil of the institution you have been discussing, but its stupendous difficulties require a much longer residence than yours has been to fathom them; and until they are fully fathomed, the remedies proposed must be in many cases very unsuitable, uncalled for, and insufficient. However, sir, I accept your remarks in the same friendly spirit as I am sure you have offered them. Permit me, at the same time, as one many years your senior, to say, that in consi-

dering your proposals I shall separate the chaff—of which there is a good deal—from the wheat—of which there is some little: the latter I shall gather into my mind's garner, and I trust it will fall on good soil.'—I took the old gentleman's hand and shook it warmly, and, as he retired, I made up my mind he was the sensible slave-owner.

I was about to leave the scene, quite delighted that the ordeal was over, when, to my horror, I heard a strong Northern voice calling out lustily, 'Stranger, I guess I have a word for you.'—On turning round I beheld a man with a keen Hebrew eye, an Alleghany ridge nose, and a chin like the rounded half of a French roll. I was evidently alone with a 'cute man of dollars and cents. On my fronting him, he said with Spartan brevity, 'Who's to pay?'—Conceive, oh reader! my consternation at being called upon to explain who was to make compensation for the sweeping away—to a considerable extent, at all events—of what represented in human flesh, £250,000,000, and in the produce of its labour £80,000,000 annually!

Answer I must; so, putting on an Exchequery expression, I said, 'Sir, if a national stain is to be washed out, the nation are in honour bound to pay for the soap. England has set you a noble example under similar circumstances, and the zeal of the abo-

litionists will, no doubt, make them tax themselves double; but, as for suggesting to you by what tax the money is to be raised, you must excuse me, sir, I am a Britisher, and, remembering how skittish you were some years ago about a little stamp and tea affair, I think I may fairly decline answering your question more in detail; a burnt child dreads the fire.'—The 'cute man disappeared and took the vision with him; in its place came the reality of 2 A.M. and the candles flickering in their sockets.

Reader, I have now done with the question of the gradual improvement and ultimate emancipation of the slave. The public institutions of any country are legitimate subjects of comment for the traveller, and in proportion as his own countrymen feel an interest in them, so is it natural he should comment on them at greater or less length. I have, therefore, dwelt at large upon this subject, from the conviction that it is one in which the deepest interest is felt at home; and I trust that I have so treated it as to give no just cause of offence to any one, whether English or American.

I hope I have impressed my own countrymen with some idea of the gigantic obstacles that present themselves, of which I will but recapitulate three:—the enormous pecuniary interests involved; the social

difficulty arising from the amount of negro population; and, though last not least, the perplexing problem—if Washington's opinion, that 'Slavery can only cease by legislative authority,' is received—how Congress can legislate for independent and sovereign States beyond the limits of the Constitution by which they are mutually bound to each other. I feel sure that much of the rabid outcry, the ovation of Mrs. B. Stowe, and other similar exhibitions, have arisen from an all but total ignorance of the true facts of the case. This ignorance it has been my object to dispel; and I unhesitatingly declare that the emancipation of the negroes throughout the Southern States, if it took place to-morrow, would be the greatest curse the white man could inflict upon them. I also trust that I may have shadowed forth some useful idea, to assist my Southern friends in overtaking a gangrene which lies at their heart's core, and which every reflecting mind must see is eating into their vitals with fearful rapidity. My last and not my least sincere hope is, that some one among the many suggestions I have offered for the negro's present benefit, may be found available to mitigate the undoubted sufferings and cruel injustice of which those with bad masters must frequently be the victims. Should I succeed in even one solitary instance, I shall feel more than repaid for

the many hours of thought and trouble I have spent over the intricate problem—the best road from Slavery to Emancipation.

Since writing the foregoing, 20,000,000 freemen, by the decision of their representatives at Washington, have hung another negro's shackle on their pole of Liberty (?). Nebraska is enslaved—freedom is dishonoured. As a proof how easily those who are brought up under the institution of Slavery blind themselves to the most simple facts, Mr. Badger, the senator for North Carolina, after eulogizing the treatment of slaves, and enlarging upon the affection existing between them and their masters, stated that, if Nebraska was not declared a Slave State, it would preclude him, should he wish to settle there, from taking with him his 'old mammy,'—the negro woman who had nursed him in infancy. Mr. Wade, from Ohio, replied, 'that the senator was labouring under a mistake; there was nothing to prevent his taking his beloved mammy with him, though Nebraska remained free, except it were that he could not sell her when he got there.'

Let the Christian learn charity from the despised Mussulman. Read the following proclamation:—

'From the Servant of God, the Mushir Ahmed Basha Bey, Prince of the Tunisian dominions.

'To our ally, Sir Thomas Reade, Consul-General of the British Government at Tunis.

'The servitude imposed on a part of the human kind whom God has created is a very cruel thing, and our heart shrinks from it.

'It never ceased to be the object of our attention for years past, which we employed in adopting such proper means as could bring us to its extirpation, as is well known to you. Now, therefore, we have thought proper to publish that we have abolished men's slavery in all our dominions, inasmuch as we regard all slaves who are on our territory as free, and do not recognise the legality of their being kept as a property. We have sent the necessary orders to all the governors of our Tunisian kingdom, and inform you thereof in order that you may know that all slaves that shall touch our territory, by sea or by land, shall become free.

'May you live under the protection of God!

'Written in Moharrem, 1262.' (23rd of January, 1846.)

What a bitter satire upon the vaunted 'Land of Liberty' have her sons enacted since the Mahometan Prince penned the above. The virgin ground of Texas and Nebraska, containing 374,000 square miles, has been declared slave-soil; besides which, in Utah, which contains 188,000 square miles, slaves already exist; and in New Mexico, containing 211,000 square miles, it is also tolerated. *Slave territory has thus been doubled by a republican Christian community in the middle of the nineteenth century.*

## CHAPTER XII.

*Constitution of the United States.*

THE most important subject that claims the attention of the traveller in any country that pretends to education or civilization, is undoubtedly its Constitution. The reader cannot expect—and most probably would not wish—to find, in a work like this, any elaborate account of the government of so vast and varied a republic as that of the United States. Those who wish thoroughly to grasp so very extensive a topic, must study the history of each individual State from its foundation; must watch the changes each has undergone, noting the effect produced; and must carefully pore over the writings of the great men who originally planned—if I may so express myself—the Republic, and must dive deep into the learned and valuable tomes of Story, Kent, &c. Those who are content with more moderate information, will find a great deal, very ably condensed, in a volume by Mr. Tremenheere. To the reader, I pretend to offer nothing but a glance at such elements as appear to me most

useful and interesting, and in so doing, I shall freely borrow such quotations from Mr. Tremenheere's references to Story and Kent as I conceive may help to elucidate my subject, not having those authors at hand to refer to.

The Government of the United States consists of three departments,—the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial; or the President and Vice-President, the House of Representatives and Senate, and the Judicial Courts. The President and Vice-President are chosen by an elective body from all the States, the said body being selected by popular vote in each State. They are elected for 4 years, but may be re-elected indefinitely. Should the votes be equal, the House of Representatives selects the President from the three on the list who have most votes, and the Senate selects the Vice in the same way. The qualifications for President and Vice are, native born, 35 years of age, and 14 years' residence in the States. The salary of the President is about £5100 a year, and a residence at Washington called 'The White House.' The salary of the Vice-President is £1680 a year. There are five secretaries,—State, Interior, Treasury, War, Navy, and a Postmaster-General, each receiving £1260 a year; the Attorney-General, who also forms part of the Cabinet, receives £850 a year. The Senate is com-

posed of two members from each State, irrespective of population, so as not to swamp the small States. The election is by the Legislature of each State, and for 6 years; one-third of their number go out every 2 years. The qualification for a senator is that he should be 30 years of age, have been 9 years a citizen, and living in the State for which he is elected. The House of Representatives originally consisted of 1 member for a certain amount of population, and as the increase in population was very rapid, the number of Representatives increased as a matter of course. In 1843 it was 1 member for every 70,000 of population, but, to prevent the body from becoming unmanageable owing to numbers, in 1853 the House was limited to 233 Representatives, elected *pro ratâ* to the several States. Slaves are reckoned in the proportion of three-fifths of their number. The election is for 2 years, and the qualification is 7 years a citizen, 25 years of age, and living in the State. The salary is the same as that of a senator.[a] The names of members composing a division on any question in either House, are not printed unless they are demanded by one-fifth of the members present. One of the clauses of their Constitution is very original, and runs thus: —'Each House may determine the rules of its pro-

[a] *Vide* page 281.

ceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.'

All impeachments are tried in the Senate, and a majority of two-thirds is requisite for a conviction. If the President be on trial, the Chief Justice, or head of the Supreme Court, presides. While the power of trial rests with the Senate, the power of impeachment rests solely with the House of Representatives.

Each State in the Union is a sovereign State—they like the word as much as they pretend to dislike the reality — acting perfectly independently within its limits, except in such cases as were mutually agreed upon by the terms of the Union, and to some of which we shall refer by and by. This sovereignty of individual States renders the elective franchise different in different States.

At the date of the first elections after the Declaration of Independence, no State admitted mere citizenship as a qualification for the elective franchise. The great men who appeared upon the stage at that period, profiting by the experience of past ages, threw certain guards around the franchise in every State in the Union, varying in different States, but all bearing unmistakeable testimony to the fact, that a perfect democracy was not the basis on which they ever contemplated building up the Republic. A few short

years have rolled by; the 13 States are increased to 33, and according to Mr. Tremenheere, 'a grave departure from the theory of the Constitution, as it existed in the eyes and expectations of its careful and prudent founders, has taken place in the gradual lowering throughout nearly all the States of the Union, and the entire abandonment in two-thirds of them, of those qualifications for the exercise of the franchise which existed when the Constitution was adopted.' In one State—Illinois—aliens being residents are entitled to vote. Now, if the great men of 1776 thought safeguards around the franchise wise and prudent in their day, before the great tide of emigration had set-in to the westward, and when the population was only 4,000,000, what would they say, could they but rise from their graves and see how their successors have thrown down the prudent barriers they had raised, and laid the franchise bare to citizenship, now that the Union numbers 23,000,000 souls, and that the tide of emigration is daily flooding them with hordes of the discontented and turbulent from every country in the Old World.

But perhaps it may be said that I, as an Englishman, am prejudiced against republican institutions in any shape; let me, then, quote you an authority which every educated American will respect. Mr. Justice

Kent says, 'The progress and impulse of popular opinion is rapidly destroying every constitutional check, every conservative element, intended by the sages who framed the earliest American Constitutions as safeguards against the abuses of popular suffrage.' Let us turn to another equally eminent American authority, Mr. Justice Story. 'It might be urged, that it is far from being clear, upon reasoning or experience, that uniformity in the composition of a representative body is either desirable or expedient, founded in sounder policy, or more promotive of the general good, than a mixed system, embracing, representing, and combining distinct interests, classes, and opinions. In England, the House of Commons, as a representative body, is founded upon no uniform principle, either of numbers, or classes, or places; . . . and in every system of reform which has found public favour in that country, many of these diversities have been embodied from choice, as important checks upon undue legislation, as facilitating the representation of different interests and different opinions, and as thus securing, by a well-balanced and intelligent representation of all the various classes of society, a permanent protection of the public liberties of the people, and a firm security of the private rights of persons and property.'

Thus far I have quoted the opinions of the highest American authorities upon the franchise. And, as far as the lowering it in England affords us any light, I would wish some unbiassed and competent person to inform the public, whether — whatever other benefit it may have procured to the community—it has increased or decreased bribery and corruption; and how the balance between advantage and disadvantage will stand, in reference to the community at large, by a further lowering of the franchise in this country; and also to what extent—if any—it can be lowered, without throwing all but unlimited power into the hands of the masses, and thus destroying that balance of the different interests of the community which are—thank God—still represented, and which, if once lost, would reduce our beloved Sovereign to the position of a gaudy puppet, and the House of Lords to a mere cypher, and be as certainly followed by all the horrors of a revolution, and all the evils of a corrupt democracy. How easy is it to find politicians ever ready to sniff the incense of popularity at the plausible shrine of a descending franchise! how difficult to find those who, while granting what is just and prudent, have the wisdom to plan, and the courage to dare, measures to arrest a mobular avalanche!

With regard to the frequency of elections, I will only insert the following sentence from Mr. Justice Story, as, I believe, public opinion in this country is all but universal in its condemnation: 'Men, to act with vigour and effect, . . . must not be hurried on to their conclusions by the passions or the fears of the multitude: . . . . the very frequency of elections has a tendency to create agitation and dissensions in the public mind, to nourish factions and encourage restlessness, to favour rash innovations in domestic legislation and public policy, and to produce violent and sudden changes in the administration of public affairs, founded upon temporary excitements and prejudices: . . . . it operates also as a great discouragement upon suitable candidates offering themselves for the public service: . . . . the period of service ought, therefore, to bear some proportion to the variety of knowledge and practical skill which the duties of the station demand.'—If any annual parliament maniac still exist, let him profit by these words of wisdom from the pen of a republican, dipped in the ink of Prudence and Patriotism; and in the marked difference between the House of Representatives and the Senate Chamber—the former of whom are elected for two, the latter for six years—let him behold the most incontrovertible living proofs of their truth. John Jay,

one of the most able men of America, writing to Washington, expresses his wish that the Upper House, or Senate, should be elected for life.

I will now turn to a topic which probably interests the British public more than any other—except the franchise—I mean the Ballot. So much has been said about the coercion of voters by those on whom they are dependent, and so much disgraceful jobbery at elections in this country has been laid bare, that if the Ballot were really a panacea for the evil, every patriot should exert his utmost energies to forward the introduction of so essential a measure. In reading any American document where the word 'ballot' is used, it must be remembered that, unless the word 'secret' precede it, the meaning is merely voting by an open piece of paper on which the name of the candidate is printed, and which he may enclose in an envelope or not, as he chooses. It is, therefore, only with the secret ballot we have to deal at present; for although the power to vote secretly exists, it is obvious, that unless secret voting is made compulsory, it affords no protection to those who are in a position to be bribed or coerced, inasmuch as those who did bribe or coerce would insist upon the vote so obtained being given openly.

It will perhaps astonish an Englishman to be told

that 'secret' ballot is all but unknown in the United States. Nevertheless, such is the case. An act was passed some four years ago in Massachusetts requiring secrecy; and what was the effect of this act? A large body of the electors met together to denounce with indignation any attempt at enforcing that which they repudiated as unworthy of freemen. So strong was this feeling that, in 1853, the act which enforced it was repealed, and in the convention called to discuss the revision of their Constitution—according to Mr. Tremenheere—although the democratic party were in a great majority, the effort to impose secrecy was thrown out by a majority of 5000.

A friend of mine, who took considerable interest in this question, was present at the elections for the State of Massachusetts, and when, at the same time, a popular vote was to be taken on the proposed revision of the Constitution; this latter was by special enactment made compulsorily secret. How far this object was attained, the following statement will show. As the voters came up to the polling-place, tickets were offered them by the agents of the opposite parties, in a large room full of people. The voters selected whichever ticket they preferred, in the presence of the whole room, and then, in compliance with the terms of the enactment, they

sealed it up in an envelope before depositing it in the voting box. So much for compulsory secrecy. Of course on this occasion, as on all electioneering occasions, the voters might have concealed their votes had they chosen so to do.

The only States, that I am aware of, where secrecy is enjoined by law are New York and Indiana; and in the former of these, I can most certainly testify, from personal observation, that in many instances, if not in most, it is a dead letter. I never met a soul who, in talking about politics, ever thought of concealing his sentiments. I am therefore forced to the conclusion that secrecy only exists among the very lowest; and here it may be as well to introduce the opinions of the Governor of this important State. Mr. Washington Hunt, in his Message of January 7, 1851, says, 'The alarming increase of bribery in our popular elections demands your serious attention. The preservation of our liberties depends on the purity of the elective franchise, and its independent exercise by the citizen, and I trust you will adopt such measures as shall effectually protect the ballot-box from all corrupting influences.'

If any efforts were made to stay the tide of corruption, the message of the same Governor the following year will enable you to judge of their success. In his

address on the 6th January, 1852, this paragraph occurs: 'The increase of corrupt practices in our elec tions has become a subject of general and just complaint: it is represented that in some localities the suffrages of considerable numbers of voters have been openly purchased with money. We owe it to ourselves and to posterity, and to the free institutions which we have inherited, to crush this hateful evil in its infancy, before it attains sufficient growth to endanger our political system. The honest and independent exercise of the right of suffrage is a vital principle in the theory of representative government. It is the only enduring foundation for a republic. Not only should the law punish every violation of this principle as a crime against the integrity of the State, but any person concerned in giving or receiving any pecuniary consideration for a vote should upon challenge be deprived of the privilege of voting. I submit the subject to your consideration, in the hope that additional remedies may be prescribed and enforced.'—The two foregoing extracts do equal credit to the head and heart of Governor Hunt; but what a picture do they portray of the effects of secret voting!

Let us now turn from Governor Hunt, and see what the Press says on the subject. The *New York Herald,* which if not highly esteemed is at least widely

circulated, thus writes in the month of May, 1852:—'Look at the proceedings on Thursday last in the 19th Ward. Voters carried to the ballot-boxes in scores of wagons from various localities; and, in other Wards, hundreds of democrats voting for Scott and for Fillmore, men ignorant and steeped in crime, picked up in all the purlieus of the city and purchased at a dollar a head; and some, it is said, so low as half a dollar, to deposit in the ballot-box a vote they had never seen.'—The article then goes on to explain the methods employed at elections—viz., a lazy fellow who wont work, brawls, and drinks, and spouts, and defames every honest man in the Ward, till he becomes a semi-deity among the riff-raff, then 'his position is found out by those who want to use him. He is for sale to the highest bidder, either to defeat his own party by treachery, or to procure a nomination for any scoundrel who will pay for it. He has no politics of any kind. He has rascality to sell, and there are those who are willing to purchase it, in order that they may traffic in it, and sell it themselves again at a very high profit. . . . . We have heard of a case in one of the Lower Wards of the city, in which one man got, at the time of the late democratic conventions, the enormous sum of two thousand dollars, out of which it is said he bribed the majority of the electors and kept the balance for himself.'

A few paragraphs further on he suggests remedies for the evil; and what do you suppose they are? First, that honest people should not leave politics to the riff-raff. Secondly, 'there ought to be a registration established, by which no man could sail under false colours, or deposit a vote at a primary election, unless he belonged to the ward, and belonged to the party to which he professed to belong.' Conceive the state to which secret voting has reduced the wealthy and intelligent city of New York; absolutely, a return to open voting is considered insufficient to reach the vitals of the evil which secrecy has brought about. Here we have proposed as a remedy *the compulsory register of political sentiments;* and to prove that things are not mending, in the 'Retrospect of the year 1852,' which forms a leading article in the same journal at the commencement of 1853, after a lengthy panegyric upon the state of America, &c., during 1852, he winds up with these most serious drawbacks to the previous eulogy: 'If we are bound to admit with crimson blush that crime is sadly on the increase, and that our municipal institutions have reached the lowest depths of inefficiency and infamy, these but remind us that the work which 1852 has bravely carried on is not yet achieved.'—I would wish carefully to guard against being understood to endorse the violent language employed by the *New York*

*Herald.* I am aware how unsafe a guide the Press ever is in times of political excitement; but after making every reasonable allowance, enough remains to prove the tendency of the secret ballot, corroborated as it is by the authoritative message of the Governor of the State.

Let us now turn for a moment to that most witty and amusing writer, Sydney Smith. In speaking of Mr. Grote's proposal for the ballot, the author says, 'He tells us that the bold cannot be free, and bids us seek for liberty by clothing ourselves in the mask of falsehood, and trampling on the cross of truth;'—and further on, towards the end of the pamphlet, he quotes an authority that Americans must respect—'Old John Randolph, the American orator, was asked one day, at a dinner-party in London, whether the ballot prevailed in his State of Virginia? 'I scarcely believe,' he said, 'we have such a fool in all Virginia as to mention even the vote by ballot; and I do not hesitate to say that the adoption of the ballot would make any nation a set of scoundrels if it did not find them so.'—John Randolph was right; he felt that it was not necessary that a people should be false in order to be free. Universal hypocrisy would be the consequence of ballot. We should soon say, on deliberation, what David only asserted in his haste,

that 'all men are liars.'[a]—How strangely prophetic the opinion of John Randolph appears, when read by the light of the *New York Herald* of 1852.

It has always appeared to me that the argument in favour of ballot which is drawn from its use in clubs, if it prove anything at all, is rather against than for it; its value there arises from the fact of the independence of the members, which enables any member if asked by the rejected candidate how he had voted, to decline giving any answer without fear of consequences. Were he dependent, he must either deny the black-ball he gave, had he so voted, or, confessing the fact, he must suffer for it, and silence would be sure to be construed into a black-ball: therefore, before ballot could be of any value to a constituency, they must be independent; and if independent, there would be no need of the ballot. Of course secrecy could be obtained by falsehood. Moreover, the object of it in a club is to keep out of a select society not only those who are considered absolutely offensive, but many with whom, though you might like to meet them in general society, you do not think it desirable to be on more intimate terms; and even in a club, who will deny that it is often used

[a] *The Ballot*, by the Rev. Sydney Smith. 1839.

to gratify private malice, and how frequently, when candidates are numerous, are black-balls put in to hasten forward the election of friends? While freely confessing and deeply regretting the disgraceful jobbery and bribery which an inquiry into our own elections too often reveals, we ought to be thankful for the light of experience which a contemplation of the elective system of the United States affords, warning us as it does that an imprudent lowering of the franchise and a recourse to the secret ballot do but aggravate the evils they were intended to cure. Before we proceed to lower our franchise, should we not do wisely to try and devise some means for obtaining the votes of those already entitled to vote? Many an honest and industrious artisan at present entitled to a vote will not come to the poll on account of the violence which—if not of the mobular party—he may be subject to; his family depend on his exertions for their daily bread—a broken limb, or any such accident happening to him, may bring the whole family to deep distress, if not to the workhouse. It appears by the *Edinburgh Review* of October, 1852, that at the previous general election, 40 per cent. of those possessing the privilege did not poll their votes. A hasty lowering of the franchise would certainly increase that number, and

thus while losing more votes of the peaceful and industrious citizens, we should be increasing those of the more turbulent, and of those who are excited by designing demagogues.

But to return to the United States.—Another feature in their constitution is the payment of members, which is £1 13*s.* 6*d.* for every twenty miles of distance, and the same sum for every day's attendance during the session. Now as travelling, in most parts of the Union, is at the rate of less than 2*d.* a mile, and living at the rate of two and a half dollars —10*s.* 6*d.*—a day, it is obvious that the situation of a representative is advantageous in a pecuniary point of view to those who wish to make a trade of politics. A member coming from a distance, say of 400 miles, and attending 120 days, would have a clear balance of about £150 left for the rest of the year. How far such a measure is wise, and brings the most desirable men into the public service, let their own countrymen tell. Mr. Venables, of North Carolina, in a speech at Richmond, Virginia—quoted by Mr. Tremenheere—says, 'With money enough, any bill can be carried through Congress.' No nation—and least of all, so very sensitive a nation as the United States—would pass an act which could possibly throw a cloud of doubt over the integrity of its representa-

tives, were there not some imperative necessity; the act referred to below will be found in page 363 of *Appendix* to Tremenheere's *Constitution of the United States*, one clause of which runs thus:—'That any senator or representative in Congress who, after the passage of this act . . . . . shall receive any gratuity, or any share of, or interest in, any claim from any claimant against the United States, &c., on conviction shall pay a fine not exceeding 5000 dollars—£1000—or suffer imprisonment in the Penitentiary not exceeding one year, or both, as the Court in its discretion shall adjudge.'—Another clause follows, against the knowing and wilful destruction of public documents; another, against any individual who shall tempt any member of the Senate or House of Representatives with bribe of any kind to influence his vote, and against members accepting the same. This act bears date Feb. 26, 1853, and certainly proves that Mr. Venables' assertion had some solid foundation in truth.

It will be remembered by some that Collins, finding the Cunard line of steamers, when supported by our Government, too strong for him to contend against, applied to Congress for a Government grant. In obtaining that grant, I do not pretend to say that he, or any one on his behalf, used bribery or corruption,

when he took round one of his magnificent vessels to Washington, and feasted Congress on board in a most champagnely style; but this I know, that many Americans were most indignant at the proceeding, for, coupled with the act before referred to, it could not but excite suspicion; and I feel sure, if Cunard had brought round one of his splendid steamers to the Thames, and there feasted the Legislature while his obtaining a Government grant was under discussion, he could not have taken a more effectual method to mar his object. *La femme de César ne doit pas être suspecte.* Thus, then, as far as we can judge of any advantage to be derived from payment of members, we can see nothing to induce us to adopt such a system; and, if I mistake not, the American himself feels disposed to give it up, believing that the standard of the representative will be raised thereby.

I have before spoken of the very great readiness with which any stranger gains admittance to Congress to listen to the debates; as a broad feature, I believe their discussions are carried on in a sober, practical, business-like manner; nevertheless, most outrageous scenes have occurred. I subjoin the following extract, not from any one sentence it contains but from its continuity, as a proof that the tone of the House is not worthy of the dignity of so great

a country. A member of any community may get up and use the most gross and offensive language; but if the offender be immediately called to order, and made to retract the offensive expressions, the community thus vindicates its character. Should, however, the most gross and offensive language be used by two members for any length of time, without interference, reprobation, retraction, or punishment, the community as a body must fairly be considered by their silence as endorsing such conduct.

The extract is taken from that widely circulating journal, *The Illustrated London News*:—

In the House of Representatives at Washington, on the 11th ult., the following amusing but disgraceful scene occurred between two of the members—Messrs. Stanly and Giddings. The former having charged the latter with uttering a falsehood, the following conversation ensued:—

'Mr. Stanly: It is usual for one who has no regard for the decencies of life to relieve himself from responsibility by pronouncing statements false, and it is characteristic of the man who sneaked away from this House, and took his pay for work which he did not do.

'Mr. Giddings: When the gentleman descends to low vulgarity, I cannot follow him. I protest against Doughfaces prompting the gentleman from South Carolina.

'Mr. Stanly: It is the business of a scavenger to have anything to do with him, and I will have to wash my hands after handling him; but the thing has to be done, as he has thrust himself on us as a kind of censor. It is a small busi-

ness for me, and I don't know how I can descend any lower than to take hold of the hon. member for Ohio. (Cry of 'Good.')

'Mr. Giddings: Will you hear me?

'Mr. Stanly: Nobody wants to hear you, but I will indulge you.

'Mr. Giddings: The gentleman is barking up the wrong tree.

'Mr. Stanly: The galled jade winces again.

'Mr. Giddings: The gentleman sha'n't crack the overseer's lash to put me down.

'Mr. Stanly: I hope that the gentleman will not gnash his teeth so hard; he might hurt himself. Who is here playing the overseer over white men—who but he, who is throwing his filthy gall and assailing everybody as Northern Whig Doughfaces, and what he calls the vile slaveholders? He is the only man who acts in that way. We don't raise the overseer's lash over our slaves in North Carolina. If that member was in the southern country, nobody would own him as a black man with a white skin—(Laughter)—but he would be suffered to run wild as a free negro, and in the course of three weeks he would be brought up to the whipping-post and lashed, for stealing or slandering his neighbours. (Laughter.) If I say that he is a gentleman, I tell a falsehood.

'The Speaker (to Mr. Stanly): Will the gentleman suspend for a moment?

'Mr. Stanly: We ought to suspend that fellow (pointing to Mr. Giddings) by the neck. (Laughter.)

'Mr. Giddings: The gentleman from North Carolina reminds me of the boy who turned round so fast that the hind part of his breeches was on both sides. (Laughter.) The gentleman says that I was at Norristown, too; but where was he and the members of the House? Why, drinking their grog. (Laughter.)

'Mr. Stanly: I charge the official reporters not to let his (Mr. Giddings') felonious hand touch one word of what I say, for we know how he on a former occasion misrepresented my colleague from the Orange district, and his own colleague from the Chillicothe district, having altered his own speech after he got to his room with his coloured friends. (Laughter.) He talks about my associates: but has anybody ever seen him in private decent company? Free negroes may call to see him. He does not let his right hand know what his left doeth. He alludes to my absence; but I have not set myself up as a standard. I don't say I'm always in the house as I ought to be. He says we were here drinking our grog during Christmas times. Where was he? In Philadelphia, drinking beer and eating oysters with free negroes. (Laughter.) Which was the best off? Judge ye. (Laughter.) He thinks he was better off than we were. (Mr. Stanly paused, and, looking towards Mr. Preston King, who was standing near Mr. Giddings, remarked, raising his voice to a higher pitch, 'Help him out; he needs a little more poison.' Voices, 'Ha, ha! Good! Ha, ha!') I quit this subject in disgust. I find that I have been in a dissecting-room, cutting up a dead dog. I will treat him as an insane man, who was never taught the decencies of life, proprieties of conduct—whose associations show that he never mingled with gentlemen. Let him rave on till doomsday.'

The conversation then ceased.

Any one who has seen much of American gentlemen, must know that such language as the above contains would be reprobated by them fully as strongly as by any gentleman in this country. To doubt that, would be to do them a gross injus-

tice. Does not, therefore, the recurrence of such scenes go far to prove, that the advance of ultra-democratic principles has the effect of lowering the tone of the Representative Chamber, and that men of liberal education and gentlemanly bearing do not constitute the majority in that House? In the days of Washington, would any member have dared to use, or would any other member have for a moment tolerated, such language? It is but justice to say, that the tone of the Senate Chamber is far more dignified; and many who have been members of that body have established a world-wide reputation both as orators and statesmen.

Let us now turn for a few minutes to that important subject, the Judiciary of the States, one peculiar feature of which is, its being a co-ordinate branch of the Legislature; nay, further, it has the power of declaring null and void the acts of the Legislature, if, in its judgment, the said acts are contrary to the Constitution. The Supreme Court of the United States is the highest tribunal in the country; it consists of a Chief Justice and eight associate Justices, the Attorney-General, a reporter, and a clerk. All questions affecting foreign ambassadors, consuls, &c., are tried before this court; and it is a final court of appeal in cases involving constitutional questions, and

various others, too long to enumerate here. The salary of the Chief Justice is about £1050 a-year. This court is, I believe, invariably composed of men of the highest talent and integrity; their appointment is from the President, and endorsed by the Senate, and their tenure of office is 'during good behaviour.'[a] There has, fortunately, been no change in the manner or term of these appointments; but, in the different States, the democratic mania has removed the old landmarks of prudence bequeathed to them by their fathers. Mr. Tremenheere tells, that in 1833 only 5 States out of the 24 had adopted the principle of electing Judges, and appointing them for a term of years; in 1844, 12 States out of the 29 had adopted the principle; and in 1853, 22 out the 31 States had come to the same resolution. We surely have in these facts a most important warning of the danger of introducing too much of the democratic element into the constitution of any country. Reflect, if but for a moment, on the danger to the community, where the selection of the Judges of the land may be guided by political rancour or public clamour; the bare knowledge that such may be the

[a] This expression, both in America and England, is tantamount to—for life.

case, even if the purity of the masses be so great as not to admit of such sinister influence, the bare possibility, I say, is calculated to lower the respect in which it is most desirable the judiciary should ever be held,[a] and to deter the most pure and high-minded citizens from offering their services. The salaries of the Judges range from £250 to £400 a-year.

The next point to which I would call attention, is to be found in Art. I. sect. 6, of the Constitution of the United States, the last clause of which runs thus:—'No person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.' This was probably one of the most extraordinary blunders such an able body of men as the framers of the Constitution ever made; and if their object was to guard against corruption, and the undue influence of the leading men of the country, it has most signally failed, as the Act before referred to, of February 1853, fully testifies. Only conceive the effect of excluding all the Cabinet and high functionaries from seats in the Lords and Commons; conceive the great statesmen of this country being obliged to hand over the introduction

[a] *Vide ante*, opinion of New York Press upon the trial of Matthew F. Ward, p. 197—9.

of most important measures, and the defence and explanation of them, to other hands. On this point, Mr. Justice Story remarks: 'Thus, that open and public responsibility for measures, which properly belongs to the executive in all governments, and especially in a republican government, as its greatest security and strength, is completely done away. The executive is compelled to resort to secret and unseen influence,—to private interviews and private arrangements,—to accomplish its own appropriate purposes, instead of proposing and sustaining its own duties and measures by a bold and manly appeal to the nation in the face of its representatives. One consequence of this state of things is, that there never can be traced home to the executive any responsibility for the measures which are planned and carried at its suggestion. Another consequence will be —if it has not yet been—that measures will be adopted or defeated by private intrigues, political combinations, irresponsible recommendations, by all the blandishments of office, and all the deadening weight of silent patronage; . . . ministers may conceal or evade any expression of their opinions.'

In charity it should be presumed that in all nations which possess anything worthy of the name of free institutions, the ablest men of the political

majority constitute the Cabinet; and, by the enactment we are considering, all this talent is excluded from the councils of the nation, whereas all the talent of the Opposition may be there arrayed against their measures. I confess it is beyond my penetration to see how this can be reconciled to justice or common sense; in no one principle of their Government did they more completely ignore the wisdom and experience of the mother country, and in the object they had in view they appear to have most completely failed. It is but fair to the democrats to say it is no act of theirs; they inherited the misfortune, and are likely to keep it, as it is one of the fundamental principles of their Constitution, and they have a salutary dread—much to their praise—of tinkering up any flaw they find in that document, lest in mending one hole they make two. They have, as a nation, so greatly prospered under its combined enactments, and possess such an unlimited independence in their individual States, that although the exclusion of the Cabinet is now very generally admitted to be an error, I saw no inclination to moot the question; probably, lest other questions affecting the slave and non-slave-holding States might be brought on the boards, and again disturb the bonds of union.

Another very remarkable — and in a Republic anomalous—feature in the government, is the power of the President, who, by the Constitution, is enabled during his four years' tenure of office to rule in total opposition to the majority, obstructing all the measures they may bring forward, unless the majority amounts to two-thirds in both Houses of Congress.

Article I., section 7, clause 2, runs thus:—'Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approves, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it with his objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to re-consider it. If after such re-consideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be re-considered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law.' &c.

This power of the President has been used by Washington, Jackson, Tyler, and Polk; particularly by Tyler, who opposed the wishes of the majority even when those wishes were backed by his own ministry. During the discussions on the Constitu-

tion, many of the wisest heads at that eventful period desired to establish the Presidency for life, but eventually the term of four years was agreed upon; and if such powers of obstructing the wishes of a majority were to accompany the office, it certainly was a prudent conclusion they arrived at. In a densely populated community like Great Britain, such powers, whether in the hands of the sovereign or the ministers, would produce a revolution in much less time than four years. It may, however, be questioned, whether these powers are not productive of evil, by rendering necessary such frequent elections for the Presidency. On this point, Mr. Justice Story states: 'The inconvenience of such frequently recurring elections of the chief magistrate, by generating factions, combining intrigues, and agitating the public mind, seems not hitherto to have attracted as much attention as it deserves.' And Chancellor Kent remarks, that 'the election of a supreme executive magistrate for a whole nation, affects so many interests, addresses itself so strongly to popular passions, and holds out such powerful temptations to ambition, that it necessarily becomes a strong trial to public virtue, and even hazardous to public tranquillity.'

There is another evil which attends these frequent elections of the chief magistrate—namely, the enor-

mous patronage at his disposal, and the mass of jobbery and corruption to which the exercise of it almost invariably leads. Besides the appointment of nearly every military, naval, civil, judicial, and revenue-collecting official—some of these subject, it is true, to the approval of the Senate—Mr. Justice Story remarks, that with regard to inferior offices 'his patronage probably includes ninety-nine out of every hundred of the lucrative offices of the government.' His great rival in patronage is the Postmaster-General, who has power to appoint and remove all deputy-postmasters, which, as the number of post-offices is 22,688, amounts to something considerable.[a]

This power was doubtless intended for the public good, and in order that incompetent or inefficient persons should be removed. To the honour of Washington, it is recorded, that during his eight years' presidency only nine removals took place. To President Jackson they are indebted, as I have before remarked, for the introduction of the present corrupt system. According to Justice Story, on his entering office he removed 233 *employés;* since then, the snowball has been steadily increasing till the present moment; it has now reached an amount which it would require

[a] *Vide* vol. i. p. 343.

Mr. Babbage's machine to calculate. Who can doubt that such vast patronage has far more influence in the selection of a President, than any personal qualification for the high and important post? Nothing could prove more clearly that such influences are paramount to all others than the last election. There were eight candidates on the democratic side, of whom General Pierce was not one; all the eight had their special friends, and each party was loth to lose the chance of patronage which their friend's election might reasonably lead them to hope for. Thus they fought so vigorously that there was no chance of any one having the requisite number of votes, *i.e*, a majority of the whole number polled.

The Convention being deputed by the different States to select from the candidates already in the field, how do they get out of the difficulty at the eleventh hour? They take upon themselves to nominate a candidate for the Presidential chair, who was not fettered by any particular followers, and from whom all parties hoped they would receive some share of the loaves and fishes as a reward for their support. The electors endorsed the new selection of the Convention, and General Pierce, lately commanding a brigade in the Mexican war, was elected by a most astounding majority. Scarcely any President

was ever elected with such all-but unanimity, and the Press was equally undivided in its praises. Every paper I read, in every place I passed through, was full of the most unbounded eulogy. But mark the change a few months made. Before the end of the year, one half of that Press, that which had bespattered him with the most fulsome adulation during the honeymoon of which his inauguration was the centre, were filling their columns with long and loud complaints, if not abuse. And what was the chief burden of their invective? It was the manner in which he distributed his patronage. In short, they were discontented with the share they received of the loaves and fishes, and thus the target of their adulation during the summer of hope, became the butt for their abuse in the winter of disappointment.

There is another subject connected with these elections, which speaks with warning voice against the presumable advantage of democracy. I would not be misunderstood as casting the slightest shade upon the amiable qualities, intellectual powers, or administrative talents of any American citizen who has been raised to the Presidency during later years. Let any candid reader, however, whether English or American, look at the following lists of Presidents since the Constitution, and he cannot fail to observe that while the

franchise was restricted in nearly every State, those called to that high post were the marked men of the highest talent in the country—men whose reputation and abilities were patent to the whole community; while, with the increase of democracy, those selected during later years are men who, whatever their virtues and capabilities, were comparatively unknown. In the case of General Franklin Pierce, he was never even named by the community; but, as we have shown, was selected by the Convention at the eleventh hour, as a compromise of political partisanship. Let us not forget, that while some of the later Presidents were elected, Colquhoun, Clay, and Webster—whose names are the just pride of the Republic, and household words in every family—were passed over.[a] Surely these simple facts may afford us subject for profitable reflection.

We will now pass on from the Governor of the Republic to the Governors of individual States.

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [a] G. Washington . . | 1789 | M. Van Buren . . | 1837 |
| J. Adams . . . . | 1797 | W. H. Harrison . | 1841 |
| T. Jefferson . . . | 1801 | J. Tyler . . . . | 1841 |
| J. Madison . . . | 1809 | J. K. Polk . . . | 1845 |
| J. Munroe . . . | 1817 | Z. Taylor . . . . | 1849 |
| J. Q. Adams . . . | 1825 | M. Fillmore . . . | 1850 |
| A. Jackson . . . | 1829 | F. Pierce . . . . | 1853 |

Their salaries vary in different States, and range from £300 to £2000 a-year. Their election is in some States by the people, in others by the legislature: their term of office varies; in some States the election is annual, and in all for a very limited period; and under them each separate State has its own House of Representatives and its Senate. The chief power, which resides in the Governor alone, is that of pardon; and here we may observe, that it is only reasonable to suppose that so enlightened a community as the United States would not for any considerable number of years have tolerated the most flagrant abuse of such a power as that of pardon; and consequently that if it be found that such abuse do now exist, it must have grown with the ever-growing democratic element.

Mr. Tremenheere quotes largely from a work by Dr. Lieber, Professor of Political Philosophy in the State College of South Carolina. Among others of a similar character, the following passage occurs:—'I consider the indiscriminate pardoning so frequent in many parts of the United States, one of the most hostile things, now at work in our country, to a perfect government of law.' He elsewhere states, 'thatthe New York Committee had ascertained that there are men who make a regular trade of procuring pardons for convicts, by which they support themselves.' Further

on, he says, 'To this statement we have now to add the still more appalling fact, which we would pass over in silence if our duty permitted it, that but a short time ago the Governor of a large State—a State among the foremost in prison discipline—was openly and widely accused of taking money for his pardons. We have it not in our power to state whether this be true or not, but it is obvious that a state of things which allows suspicions and charges so degrading and so ruinous to a healthy condition, ought not to be borne with.' He then subjoins this note :—'While these sheets are going through the press, the papers report that the Governor of a large State has pardoned thirty criminals, among whom were some of the worst characters, at one stroke, on leaving the gubernatorial chair.'—Among the conclusions Dr. Lieber draws on this point, is the following astounding one—'That the executive in our country is so situated that, in the ordinary course of things, it cannot be expected of him that he will resist the abuse; at least that he will not resist it in many cases.'

The foregoing extracts are certainly entitled to no small weight when it is remembered they come from the pen of a republican professor, writing upon 'Civil Liberty and Self-government.' I do not pretend to say that such gross cases as those referred to

by him came within my cognizance during my travels, but I most certainly did hear charges made against governors—in more than one instance—of granting pardons through corrupt influence.

I have now given a cursory review of the leading features in the executive of the United States; and I have endeavoured, while doing so, to point out the effects which the gradual inroads of the democratic element have produced. The subject is one of the deepest interest to us as Englishmen, inasmuch as it is the duty of every government to enlarge, as far as is consistent with the welfare of the nation, the liberty of the subject. The foregoing remarks on the constitution of the United States appear to me conclusive as to one fact—viz., that the democratic element may be introduced so largely as that, despite a high standard of national education and worldly prosperity, its influence will produce the most pernicious effect upon the government of the country.

This truth cannot be too strongly brought forward, for undoubtedly change is the mania of the day; and as, in a free country, all constitutional changes must have a liberal tendency, it behoves our legislators to study deeply and patiently the effect produced upon any country whose constitution is more democratic than our own, so as to enable them, while steadily ad-

vancing with the age, to know when the well-being of their country requires them, as true patriots, to resist those measures which threaten injury to the social fabric committed to their guidance. No field can afford them more profitable subjects for reflection than the United States; independent of the fact that her institutions are more democratic than our own, she possesses natural advantages that enable her to carry them out, such as we do not, and therefore the British statesman may always study her career with profit, when any great liberal movement is being agitated in his own country.

Lest any one should be disposed to imagine that the statements I have made, or the deductions I have drawn, are merely the prejudices of a traveller brought up under a constitutional monarchy, I will add a passage showing the conclusions at which one of the ablest men in America has arrived.

Bishop Hopkins, in an address delivered before the House of Convocation of Trinity College, Hartford, after eulogizing the wisdom and patriotism of the founders of his country, as being 'the wise master builders of the noblest republic in the world,' asks what is its present state after seventy years' brief experience? Behold the reply:—'First, then, we hear on every side the charge of political corruption.

Bribery is practised in all our elections. The spoils of office are expected as a matter of course by the victorious party. The President of the United States dares not be impartial; for, if he were, he would lose the confidence of his friends, without gaining the confidence of his enemies. The oldest statesmen, and most prominent, cannot follow the dictates of their own judgment and conscience, without being reproached as though they were laying a trap for the presidential chair. The very laws of Congress are set down as the results of personal venality or ambition. The House of Representatives, or even the Senate Chamber, are disgraced every year by fierce passion and violent denunciation. The barbarous and unchristian duel is anticipated as quite inevitable unless it be averted by explanations which may satisfy worldly honour, in utter contempt of all religious principle. And no member of either House can go to the performance of his public duties with any security that he may not be insulted by coarse invective before the day is closed. Yet our rulers are never weary of lauding the character of Washington, as if they were quite convinced that the time had passed by when they might be expected to verify the language of praise by the act of imitation. When we look into the other classes of the community, the same charge

of venality and corruption meets us again. Our merchants are accused of all sorts of dishonest management; our brokers, of stock-jobbing; our city aldermen, of bribery; our lawyers, of knavery; our justices, of complicity with the guilty. The same worship of Mammon seems to govern the whole, and the current phrase, 'the almighty dollar,' is a sad but powerful exponent of the universal sin which involves the mass of our population.'

Being perfectly aware what a 'glass house' of corruption we ourselves are living in, I do not quote the foregoing by way of 'throwing a stone,' but insert it merely as a warning of the direction in which we should not seek for an advance in purification.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### *The Church, the School, and the Law.*

ALTHOUGH the Church has no connexion with the State, it must ever be a most important element in any Christian community. I therefore furnish a Table of the various denominations, so as to enable the reader, at a glance, to get the particular information he may desire. Some of the denominations given in this Table are of course again divided into other sects, such as 'Reformed Methodists,' 'Episcopal Methodists,' 'Wesleyan Methodists,' 'Six Principle Baptists,' 'Seventh-day Baptists,' 'Anti-mission Baptists,' &c.

If the accompanying Table may be taken as indicative of the whole population, it will be seen that one person out of every three is a Methodist, and only one in every twenty-two is a Romanist; but what is more worthy of remark is, the provision which, under the voluntary system, has been made for public worship.

| Denominations. | Number of Churches. | Aggregate Accommodation. | Total Value of Church Property. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | £ |
| Baptists . . . . | 8791 | 3,130,878 | 2,295,590 |
| Christian . . . | 812 | 296,050 | 177,621 |
| Congregational . | 1674 | 795,177 | 1,674,532 |
| Dutch Reformed . | 324 | 181,986 | 860,313 |
| Episcopal . . . | 1422 | 625,213 | 2,365,013 |
| Free . . . . . | 361 | 108,605 | 52,973 |
| Friends . . . . | 714 | 282,823 | 359,071 |
| German Reformed | 327 | 156,932 | 29,024 |
| Jewish . . . . | 31 | 16,575 | 78,036 |
| Lutheran . . . | 1203 | 531,100 | 602,205 |
| Mennonite . . . | 110 | 29,900 | 19,791 |
| Methodist . . . | 12,467 | 4,209,333 | 3,073,700 |
| Moravian . . . | 331 | 112,185 | 93,002 |
| Presbyterian . . | 4584 | 2,040,316 | 3,017,675 |
| Roman Catholic . | 1112 | 620,950 | 1,384,505 |
| Swedenborgian . | 15 | 5,070 | 22,701 |
| Tunker . . . . | 52 | 35,075 | 9,665 |
| Union. . . . . | 619 | 213,552 | 144,913 |
| Unitarian . . . | 243 | 137,367 | 686,305 |
| Universalist . . | 494 | 205,462 | 371,073 |
| Minor Sects . . | 325 | 115,347 | 155,815 |
| Total . | 36,011 | 13,849,896 | £17,973,523 |

We here see accommodation provided for 14,000,000 in a population of 23,000,000—of which 3,000,000 are slaves. At the same time, it must also be observed, that all these churches are not necessarily supplied with ministers. Their support being dependent upon their congregation, it will occasionally happen that a minister gets starved out, and some time may elapse before a successor is appointed; the inconvenience of which contingency occurring is obvious.

More than one such case came under my own observation when travelling through the country.

With regard to the distribution of the churches, the only peculiarity I observe is, that the Unitarian community appear to be nearly all gathered into one spot, and that spot the Land of the Pilgrim Fathers, and the State that is considered foremost in education. Out of 243 churches, 163 are situated in Massachusetts. I have never heard any reason given for this curious fact; doubtless the great talents of Channing tended to swell their numbers, but could hardly account for the extraordinary proportion established in this State.

In proportion to its numbers, it will be seen that the Episcopal is the wealthiest of all Churches; and yet we find complaint made of the insufficiency of the support for their ministers. Bishop Eastburn, of Massachusetts, in a pastoral letter, states that in his diocese 'respectable parents will not bring up their children to the clerical profession, because the salaries hardly keep people from starving.' How far this is true generally, or whether confined to his own neighbourhood, I cannot say. The Episcopal Church in America is free from the violent factions that have distracted and thrown obloquy upon the sister church in this country. The puerile struggle about surplices,

and candles, and steps up to altars, and Brussels lace offerings, appear to have attracted little attention among those in America, whose theological views assimilate with the extreme high party in England: and I never heard, during my residence in the States, any of that violent and uncharitable language with which discussions on religious topics too frequently abound in this country; nor is the Episcopal community by any means so divided as it is here. The Bishop of New Zealand is far nearer their type than the controversial prelate of Exeter.

The Book of Common Prayer, as arranged by Convention in 1790, is well worthy of notice, and, in many points, of imitation. These pages are not the proper place for a theological discussion, and my only reason for touching upon the subject at all is, that the public voice is constantly calling for some modification of the great length of our present Sunday services, and I therefore conclude that the following observations may be interesting to some of my readers.

The leading points of retrenchment are—removing all repetitions such as the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Collect for the day; a portion of the close of the Litany is omitted at the discretion of the minister. The Communion Service is not read every

Sunday. I suppose the Church authorizes this omission at the discretion of the minister, as I have attended service on more than one occasion when the Communion was not read; when read, Our Lord's commandment, Matthew xxii. 37—40, follows the Commandments of the Old Testament, and a short Collect, followed by the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the day, finish that portion of the service. Independent of the regular Psalms for the day, there are ten separate short collections, any one of which the minister may substitute for the proper Psalms, and the Gloria Patri is only said after the last Psalm.

The leading features of difference from our own 'Common Prayer' are as follow:—They appoint proper Second Lessons for the Sunday, instead of leaving them to the chance of the Calendar—they place the Nicene and Apostles' Creed side by side, and leave the minister to select which he prefers, and to use, if he think proper, the word 'Hades' instead of Hell. They remove the Athanasian Creed entirely from the Prayer Book, leaving to the minister to explain the mysteries which that creed so summarily disposes of. When it is considered how many Episcopalians are opposed to its damnatory clauses, and how much more nearly the other creeds resemble that model of simplicity the Lord's Prayer, they appear to have exercised a sound discretion in this

excision. Few deep-thinking people, I imagine, can have heard the children of the parish school reading the responses of that creed after the minister, without pain.

Lest the passing opinion of a traveller upon such a subject be deemed hasty or irreverent, I beg to quote Bishop Tomline's opinion. He says—'Great objections have been made to the clauses which denounce eternal damnation against those who do not believe the faith as here stated; and it certainly is to be lamented that assertions of so peremptory a nature, unexplained and unqualified, should have been used in any human composition. . . . . Though I firmly believe that the doctrines of this creed are all founded on Scripture, I cannot but conceive it to be both unnecessary and presumptuous to say that, 'except every one do keep them whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.' ' Mr. Wheatley also, when writing on the Creed says, that the third and fourth verses constitute the creed, and that what follows 'requires our assent no more than a sermon does, which is made to prove or illustrate a text.'—To resume.

They have proper prayers and thanksgivings for individuals who desire their use, instead of, as with us, introducing a few words into the ordinary service. They have provided a liberal collection of psalms and hymns for singing in church, and no others are

allowed to be used. Each psalm and hymn has the Gloria Patri suited to it marked at the beginning. The inconvenience of the total want of such a provision in our Church is most palpable. Not long before I went to America, I was attending a parish church in the country, where a great proportion of the psalms and hymns used were the minister's own composition, and, if I recollect right, the book cost half-a-crown. I came up to town, and I found my parish church there had a selection under the sanction of the Bishop of London. Since my return from America I have gone to the same London church, under the same Bishop, and I have found a totally different book in use.—The foregoing are the principal alterations in the Sunday services.

The alterations in the other services are chiefly the following:—In the full Communion Service, the word 'condemnation' is substituted for 'damnation,' in the notice of intimation. The whole of the damnatory clause in the exhortation, from the word 'unworthily' to 'sundry kinds of death,' is expunged. The first prayer in our Church after the reception, is modified by them into an oblation and invocation, and precedes the reception. The remainder of the service is nearly the same as our own.

They have removed the objectionable opening of

the Marriage Service; but, not content with that, they have also removed the whole of the service which follows the minister's blessing after the marriage is pronounced, and thus reduced it to a five minutes' ceremony. While on this subject, I may as well observe that, from inquiries I made, I believe but few of those marriages take place by which husband and wife are prevented from kneeling at the same altar, by which their highest interests can never be a subject of mutual discussion, and by which children are either brought up without any fixed religious ideas at all, or else a compromise is entered into, and the girls are educated in one Church and the boys in another. In short, I believe the Romanists in America, marry but rarely out of the pale of their own church. I cannot say what the law of divorce is, but it appears to offer far greater facilities than would be approved of in England. A gentleman mentioned two cases to me, in one of which the divorce was obtained by the wife without the husband being aware of it, although living in the same State; in the other, the wife returned to the State from which her husband had taken her, and there obtained a divorce without his knowledge.—To return from this digression. In the Visitation of the Sick they have removed that individual absolution of the minister, the wording of which is

so objectionable, that, if I am rightly informed, it is rarely used by ministers in England. In the Burial of the Dead they have changed the two concluding prayers in those sentences which refer to the deceased. The Commination they have entirely expunged. They have added a full service for Visitation of Prisoners; and a Harvest Thanksgiving; and they have provided a form of morning and evening prayer for families.

The foregoing constitute the leading points of difference. Of course there are many minor ones which are merely verbal, such for instance as their expunging the scriptural quotation of 'King of kings, Lord of lords,' from the prayer for the President, probably out of deference to the prejudices of the Republicans, for which omission they have partially atoned by the substitution of the grander expression of 'only Ruler of the Universe,' in lieu of the more limited term 'only Ruler of Princes.' To enter into all these verbal changes would be alike tedious and useless. Enough I trust has been written to convey a general idea of the most striking and interesting points of difference.

Other Churches transplanted to this hemisphere, seem to differ from the parent stock most essentially. Thus I find in the almanack for 1853, 'Methodist Episcopal Church (North) 3984 ministers, and 662,315 communicants;' and below them 'Methodist

Episcopal Church (South)' without any return of statistics. I regret not being able to give the reader any history of this occidental hierarchy. I do not even know the Episcopacizing process they go through, whether it is entirely lay, or entirely clerical, or whether it is a fusion of the two. At first I imagined it was a Wesleyan offshoot, but I can find no indication of that fact; and moreover the Wesleyan is a very small body numbering 600 ministers and 20,000 communicants. I only allude to it because it appears to me a totally novel feature in Dissenting bodies—as understood in England. Another curious change produced by this Western climate, is that it turns all my Presbyterian friends instrumentally musical. I do not remember entering any of their churches without finding an organ; and in many instances a very good choir. Although I approve highly of the euphonious improvement, I feel sure that many of my countrymen in the extreme north would rather see a picture representing Satan in Abraham's bosom inside their kirk than any musical instrument. Such is the force of habit and prejudice.

The extent to which the churches in America have increased is doubtless most creditable to the community, when it is remembered that all the various denominations are supported voluntarily: nor is their

number the only point worthy of notice; the buildings themselves have all some ecclesiastical appearance, and many of them are fine specimens of architecture. Besides which, they are always kept clean and in good order; you will never find those unsightly barns, and still less the dilapidation which is often met with in the mother land. I have myself been in a church at home where the flooring was all worn away, and gravel from the outside substituted, and where the seats were so ricketty that a fall might be anticipated at any moment. The parishioners were poor Highlanders, it is true, but the owner of the soil was a man of considerable wealth.

I have, since my return to England, been into a beautiful old parish church in one of the midland counties; the building was in a most deplorable state of dilapidation, and the communion-rail formed a music-stand, while inside were placed an orchestra of two fiddles and a bass-viol. The minister received, for the first three years he officiated, the exorbitant remuneration of thirty pounds a year; since which time he has taken the duties of parish-schoolmaster, the salary for which, increased by a small sum from Queen Anne's Bounty, enables him to keep body and soul together. But of course the school engrossed all his time, except what was necessary to prepare his dis-

courses, and his parishioners were unavoidably and totally neglected, till dissenting ministers came to the rescue; as a natural consequence, they soon followed the ministers who made them the objects of their care, and when I attended this beautiful old parish church, the congregation, independent of the orchestra and the parish school, consisted of eleven souls, three of whom came from the minister's own house. You might seek in vain to parallel such a case throughout the whole Republic.

I now propose to make a few observations about disbelief in the United States. On this point I have no statistics to refer to, nor do I believe such exist. I therefore can form no idea of its extent; but the open way in which some parties not only express their doubts of the authenticity of Scripture, but dispute every doctrine which it contains, and openly proclaim it the enemy of man, is worthy of some notice. An Ismite Convention was held for many days at Hartford, in one of the New England States —Connecticut—where I suppose education may be considered as universal as in any other State in the Union.

The meeting was considered of sufficient importance to occupy daily several columns of one of the New York leading journals, and to employ a special

reporter. It is thus headed—MEETING OF PHILOSOPHERS, THEOLOGIANS, THINKERS, STRONG-MINDED WOMEN, SPIRITUAL RAPPERS, ATHEISTS, AND NEGROES. Details of this Convention would be too tedious; I propose only giving a few of their resolutions. Resolved—'That the Bible, in some parts of the Old and New Testament, sanctions injustice, concubinage, prostitution, oppression, war, plunder, and wholesale murder, and therefore that the Bible, as a whole, originated[a]—is false, and injurious to the social and spiritual growth of man.' After which the chairman goes on to prove (?) it is purely human, &c. Another resolution reiterates the former, and adds that 'the time has come to declare its untruthfulness, and to unmask those who are guilty of its imposture.' Then follows a resolution for the especial consideration of slave-owners:—'Resolved—That it is the climax of audacity and impiety for this nation to receive the Bible as the inspired Word of God, and then to make it a penal offence to give it to any of the millions who are held as chattel slaves on its soil, thus conspiring to make them miserable here and hereafter.' Then follows a charitable resolution, declaring their belief that all the clergy 'would readily burn the Bible to-morrow if

[a] I suppose originated *from the Deity* is intended.—H. A. M.

public sentiment demanded it.' One of the orators brings the Bible to the bar of Geology, and there condemns it, and recommends 'that the Hindoos should establish a mission to enlighten Christians of this and other countries. He believed the priesthood and Bible were opposed to all liberty and progress, and the deadliest enemies of mankind.'

Another member of this blasphemous band becomes highly indignant because the orthodox clergymen—who probably remembered that 'evil communications corrupt good manners'—would not meet them on their infidel platform, and he presents a resolution declaring that 'by their absence, they had openly declared their infidelity to their professions of theological faith, and had thus confessed the weakness and folly of their arrogant assumptions, and proved that they loved popular favour more than common good; that they are therefore moral cowards, pharisees of this nineteenth century, seeking to enslave more and more the mind of man,' &c. Another orator then proposes a resolution, to the effect that the spirit and genius of Bible religion is not a system of salvation from sin and its effects, but a system of damnation into sin and its effects; that it is the friend of moral and spiritual slavery, and therefore 'the foe of human mental and spiritual liberty.' Subsequently a strong-minded woman, called Mrs. Rose, appeared on the

platform amid considerable uproar, followed by extinguishing the gas and singing songs. After a severe struggle, the lady managed to express her sentiments in these mild and Christian terms:—'The Church is upon your neck. Do you want to be free? Then trample the Church, the priest, and the Bible under your feet.'—The last day's proceeding closed by a row in the gallery, owing to a fight, in which a dirk had been drawn; and then the Convention adjourned till the following year.

The reader must not imagine that I state this as an indication of the tone of religious feeling in the New England States,—far from it; but it appears to me a fact worth noticing, that a Convention of such a nature and magnitude, and considered of sufficient importance to employ the special reporter of a leading journal of New York, should by any possibility assemble for days and days together, and give vent to such blasphemous sentiments among a people so liberally educated and so amply supplied with means of religious instruction. I only hope that the infidelity of the whole Republic was gathered into that one assembly, and that having met in so uncongenial an atmosphere, they all returned to their homes impregnated with some of the purer atmosphere of the great majority of the people.

The subject of Education naturally follows after the Church; but, on this point, any attempt at accuracy is hopeless. Whether it be from the variety of school systems in the different States, or from some innate defect in the measures taken to obtain information, I cannot pretend to say; but the discrepancies between the statements made are so great, that I can only pretend to give a moderate approximation to the truth, which is the more to be regretted as the means provided for education throughout the length and breadth of the Republic, constitute one of its noblest features. In rough numbers they may be thus stated:—

| Schools. | Number. | Instructors. | Pupils. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Public . . . | 81,000 | 92,000 | 4,000,000 |
| Colleges . . . | 220 | 1,500 | 20,000 |
| Academies, & others | 6,000 | 12,000 | 261,000 |

Of the above colleges, theology claims 44, medicine 37, law 16.

Among the expenses of the various colleges, which I can refer to, I find University College, Virginia—the terms of which occupy 44 weeks—is the most expensive. The annual charges for a student are the following:—College expenses, £40; board, £22; washing, fuel, and lights, £4;—in all, £70. It is

obvious that no provision is here made for champagne suppers, hunters, tandems, and other 'necessaries,' of our University students, including a few 'auxiliaries,' in the shape of I O U's, for red coats, top-boots, Hudson's regalias, and mysterious jewellery bills for articles that men don't wear. Doubtless, some papas would prefer the Virginian bill of fare; but then, they must remember that the republican lads go to college to learn something, whereas many papas send their first-born hopes to Oxford and Cambridge to save themselves trouble, and to keep the youths out of mischief during the awkward period of life yclept 'hobbledehoyhood.' How they succeed is pretty well known to themselves, and probably their bankers have some idea also; yet, with all these drawbacks, who will deny that those seats of learning turn out annually some of the most manly and high-minded, and some of the best educated and most industrious, young men in the country?

Having entered into some of the details of education at various places during my travels, I shall not trespass on the reader's patience by dwelling further on the subject, except to call attention to the following important regulation with regard to children in factories; and I most sincerely hope it may reach the eye of Lord Shaftesbury, or some other of his coadjutors in

the noble work of the protection and education of helpless youth. The regulation exists in some shape or other in many States. I subjoin the wording of it from that of Massachusetts:—

'*No child under the age of fifteen years shall be employed in any manufacturing establishment, unless such child shall have attended some public or private day-school, where instruction is given by a teacher qualified according to law to teach orthography, reading, writing, English grammar, geography, arithmetic, and good behaviour, at least one term of eleven weeks of the twelve months next preceding the time of such employment, and for the same period during any and every twelve months in which such child shall be so employed.*'

Although my salt-fish friends are probably very familiar with sea-lawyers, the general reader may be astonished to see any allusion to law made by a sea-captain. I therefore beg to inform him, that the following observations on a most interesting point are furnished me by a friend who is legitimately at home in that complicated business, and who devoted much attention to the study of the method by which land is conveyed in the United States with so much ease and so little expense:—

'In America all conveyances of land, whether ab-

solute or by way of mortgage only, are, with the exception of some chattel interests, required to be registered within a fixed or a reasonable time after their execution. Registration is constructive notice to all the world; if not registered, a deed is only valid against the parties to it and the heirs and devisees of the grantor. Generally, however, notice obtained by a purchaser previous to his purchase, will, if clearly proved, prevent his taking the advantage, though he may have been beforehand in registering his own title.

'By the old laws of Massachusetts, all deeds of conveyance were required to be recorded, 'that neither creditors might be defrauded, nor courts troubled with vexatious suits and endless contentions.' In consequence of the number of registers established—one in each county—and the excellence of their arrangements, no inconvenience results from the accumulation of deeds, notwithstanding the early period to which they go back. In the register for Suffolk county, Massachusetts, are to be seen copies of deeds from 1640 down to the present time. They are bound up in 640 volumes, and do not as yet take up much space. They have lately multiplied in an increasing ratio, the volumes having risen from 250 to their present number within the last 25 years.

'The register for Philadelphia county, Pennsylvania, contains within a moderate compass deeds from 1683

downwards. They are referred to by indices on the following plan: All deeds made within a certain time, and in which the name of the grantor commences with the same letter of the alphabet, are bound up in one volume; thus, a volume marked 'H 1820-1847,' contains all deeds executed between those years by grantors whose names begin with H. One index volume contains the names of all grantors between those years in alphabetical order, another that of all grantees, and both refer to volume and page of the books of deeds. A third index gives the names of grantors and grantees, arranged chronologically according to the year in which the deed they were parties to was executed.

'The original deeds remain in the possession of the proprietors, but are of secondary importance. They are written in a plain legible hand on paper, parchment being seldom used. The signatures of the parties are of course requisite; but the seal, which is essential to a deed in England, is in many States dispensed with. The custom of registering obviates the necessity for those long recitals that so swell out an English conveyance, and the shortest possible forms of covenants are preferred. The American conveyance only witnesses that the grantor conveys the property therein described, which, or part of which, was conveyed to him by such a one by a deed of such a date;

and a marginal note states the volume and page where the deed thus mentioned is to be seen.

'The advantages of registration are,—greater security of title, and brevity and economy in conveyances. The example of the United States shows that there is nothing in the Anglo-Saxon laws of real property to render such a system impracticable. Several of the most eminent lawyers in Boston declared, that their registration was found to work easily and safely; the only change desired was by a few, who expressed a wish that more registers should be established, as, one for every district, instead of for every county. They all expressed their astonishment that a similar plan had not long ago been adopted in England. They admitted that dealings with property were more simple in America, where strict settlements are either not allowed, or not generally in use, but maintained that the real obstacles to a registration in this country lie not so much in the difficulty of carrying it out, as in the prejudices of landowners, the self-interest of lawyers, and the superstitious dread entertained by John Bull generally of anything to which he is unaccustomed.'[a]

[a] Communicated to me by Mr. J. G. Dodson, son of The Right Honourable Sir J. Dodson, Dean of the Arches, &c.

I am no lawyer, as I observed before, and therefore I do not pretend to pass an opinion on the details of the foregoing remarks; but of the results produced by their system, I certainly can speak, for I have seen property transferred without the slightest trouble, and for a few shillings, which, owing to the amount involved, and the complications connected with it, would, if transferred in this country, have kept the firm of Screw, Skinflint, and Stickem hard at work for months, and when finished, would have required a week to make up the bill of costs, &c.

## CHAPTER XIV.

*Palmam qui meruit ferat.*

WRITING about law makes one litigious; so I seize this opportunity for making a few observations on American claims. I am not going to open the question of the Bay of Fundy, &c. fisheries; because British liberality has resigned a right, the retention of which was a source of continual irritation to our republican neighbours. I must, however, quote a few lines from the work of their able Chancellor, Kent, to show how fully justified we were in claiming the sovereignty of the Bay of Fundy. If the Chancellor's work on the Law of Nations is consulted, it will be found that he points out to his countrymen their right to the sovereignty of lines stretching 'from Cape Anne to Cape Cod, Nantucket to Montauck Point, thence to the Capes of the Delaware, and *from the South Cape of Florida to the Mississippi.*' With

such wholesale claims asserted on their part, it would require something more than modest assurance to dispute England's right to the Bay of Fundy. But my litigation with the Republic is respecting some of their claims to inventions, which they put forward in so barefaced a manner, that the unwary or the uninquiring—which two sections of the human family constitute the great majority—are constantly misled into a belief of their truth; and the citizens of the Republic would do well to remember, that by putting forward unwarrantable pretensions to some discoveries, they afford just grounds for questioning their lawful claims to others.

The first I shall mention is with reference to Fulton and steam. Mr. Charles King, the President of Columbia College, in a lecture delivered before the Mechanics' Institute, Broadway, New York, in December, 1851, claims for Fulton 'the application of a known force *in a new manner, and to new and before unthought-of purposes.*' Now what are the real facts? James Watt, in 1769, patented the double-acting engine, which was the first step by which the steam-engine was made capable of being used to propel a vessel. In 1780 James Pickard patented what is no other than the present connecting rod and crank, and a fly-wheel, the second and last great improvement in

the steam-engine which enabled it to be of service in propelling vessels.[a] In 1785 William Symington took out a patent, by which he obtained, with economy of fuel, a more perfect method of condensation of steam and a more perfect vacuum.

In 1787, Mr. Miller, of Dalswinton, a gentleman who had spent a fortune of nearly £30,000 in shipbuilding experiments, was urged by Mr. Taylor to try and apply the power of steam to vessels. William Symington was applied to, with the view of knowing if he could apply his engine to one of Mr. Miller's boats, which he accordingly did, and propelled a little pleasure vessel on the lake at Dalswinton, at the rate of five miles an hour, on the 14th November, 1788. In the following year Mr. Symington made a double engine for a boat to be tried upon the Forth and Clyde Canal; and in the month of December, 1789, this trial vessel was propelled at the rate of six and a half miles an hour. Lord Dundas, who was a large proprietor in the Forth and Clyde Canal, employed Symington to make experiments in 1801. The result of these trials was the construction of the

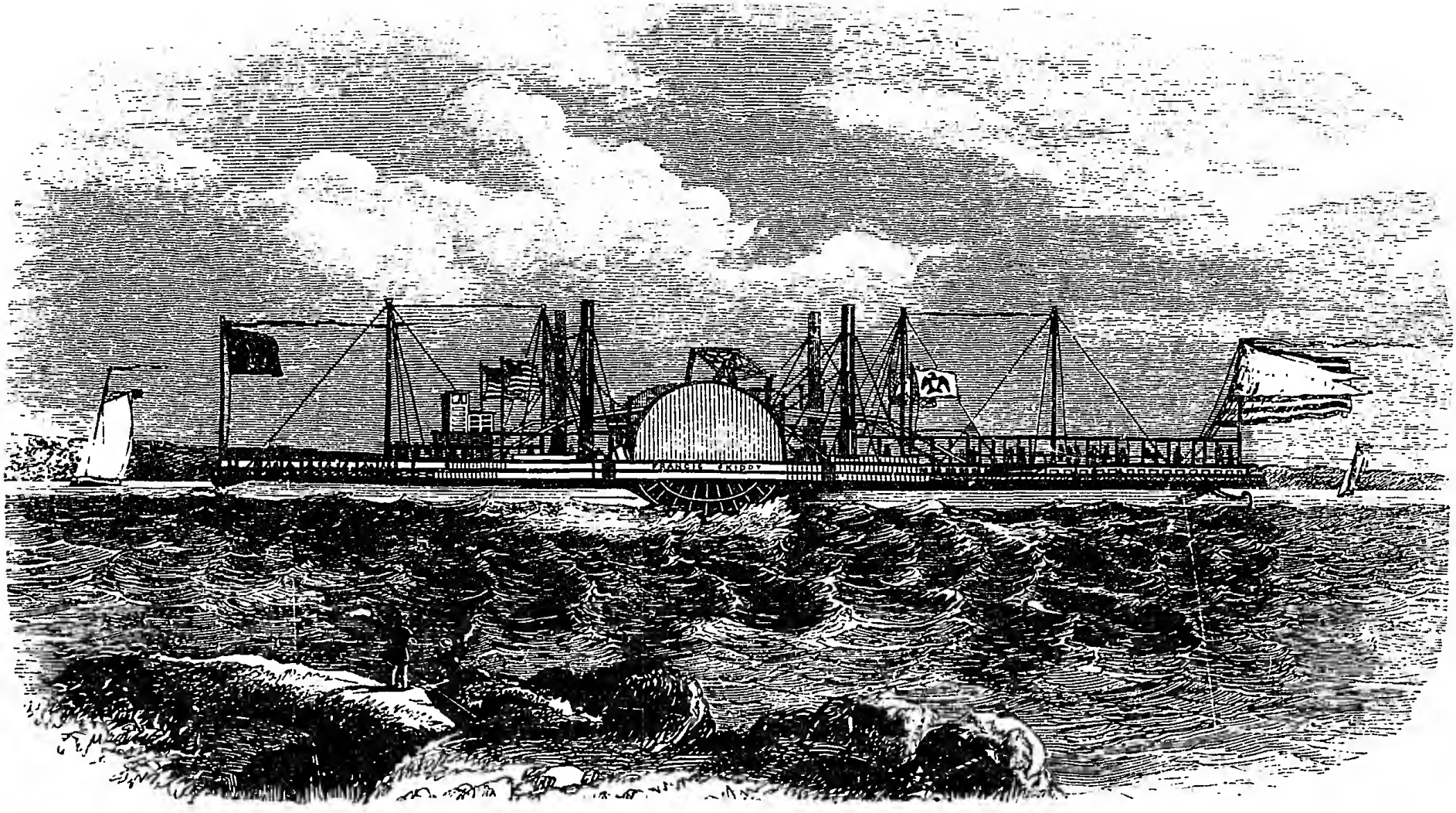
[a] The Marquis de Jouffroy is said to have worked a boat by steam on the Seine, in 1781; but the Revolution breaking out, he appears to have been unable to complete his invention.

'Charlotte Dundas,' the first practical steam-boat ever built. The engines of this vessel combined the patents before mentioned of Watt, Pickard, and Symington, which combinations—made by the latter patentee—constitute the present system of steam navigation. The Charlotte Dundas made her trial trip in March, 1802, and so satisfactory was the trial, that the Duke of Bridgewater ordered eight boats of Symington, for the purpose of running on his canal. The Duke of Bridgewater died immediately after; and the Forth and Clyde proprietors, owing to the injury caused to the banks, discontinued the use of the boat. The foregoing observations prove that if any one individual can claim the merit of inventing the steam-engine, that man is William Symington, who, combining previous inventions with his own patent, constructed the engine as at present in use. At the same time, every credit is due to Mr. Miller, who first afforded Symington the opportunity of putting his ingenuity to the test.

Let us now look at Mr. Fulton's part in the transaction. In 1801 he visited Scotland, and was present at one of the experiments making by Symington on the canal, and from him he obtained permission to make full sketches and notes of both boat and apparatus. The fact is sworn to on oath of the presence

of an American gentleman, who called himself Mr. Fulton, during the experiments; and further evidence is found in the fact that the engines he ordered of Messrs. Boulton and Watt for the 'Clermont' were precisely of the same dimensions as those in the Charlotte Dundas, with the exception of two inches more diameter in the piston; and the patent of Fulton dates from 1809 — twenty years after Symington had propelled a boat by steam on Lake Dalswinton, and eight years after he had himself taken sketches of Symington's engines in the Forth and Clyde canal-boat.

Beyond the foregoing evidence, there is the testimony of Mr. Bell that, at Fulton's request, he sent him information, plans, &c., of Mr. Miller's first experiments. The long and the short of the story is clearly this:—Mr. Fulton was a shrewd and clever engineer. He came to England, copied the steam-engine which Symington had combined—one can hardly say invented—and then returned to his own country, and applied it successfully, for which the Republic ought to be thankful to him, and to honour his name; but, for a president of a college lecturing before a mechanics' society, to call Fulton the inventor 'of applying a known force *in a new manner and to new and before unthought-of purposes*,' exhibits an



Hudson River Steamer, 1852.

ignorance or an assurance, for neither of which the slightest excuse can be made.[a]

With equal accuracy Mr. King informs the mechanics that 'Colonel John Stevens had clearly worked out in his own mind, long before any locomotive was constructed in Europe, the theory of such an application of steam, and the actual form in which it could be advantageously made, as well as the cost of constructing and working a railway for the use of locomotives.' If this were true, how does it happen that the son of the Colonel, an able and ingenious mechanician, came over to George Stephenson, at Liverpool, to learn what he was doing, and to order engines from him; but Mr. King outherods Herod, for he claims on behalf of the Colonel, the working of steam expan-

[a] The foregoing details are essentially extracted from a work by Mr. Woodcroft, professor of machinery at University College, London; who, after proving that the previous inventions of his countrymen were combined together, for the first time, in the boat engined by Symington, thus clearly and summarily disposes of the pretensions put forward in favour of Fulton:—'In fact, if these inventions separately, or as a combination, were removed out of Fulton's boat, nothing would be left but the hull; and if the hull could then be divested of that peculiarity of form, admitted to have been derived from Colonel Beaufoy's experiments, *all that would remain would be the hull of a boat of ordinary construction.*'

sively in 1815, for which Watt had taken out a patent thirty-five years before. If presidents of colleges in America cannot in their lectures deal more closely with facts, the instruction given within the walls of the college will come under very unfavourable suspicions.

In conclusion, I will only add a few remarks as to ocean steamers, on which subject, as on the invention of the engine, there is considerable difficulty in awarding the honours to any single individual. The Americans were the first to employ steamers along the coast, and the 'Savannah,' built by them in 1819, was the first vessel that crossed the Ocean employing steam in any way as an assistant. But in her the steam was a very small auxiliary power, and the sails were that upon which the vessel mainly depended. She cannot therefore fairly be called an ocean steamer. The 'Enterprise,' a vessel of 500 tons burden, with two 120 horse-power engines, started from London for Calcutta, touching at the Cape of Good Hope, about the year 1826; and may be fairly considered as the first vessel that made an ocean journey essentially dependent on steam. Subsequently the 'Royal William,' built at Quebec, after running between that port and Halifax from 1831 to 1833, started in the fall of the latter year for Falmouth; and to her be-

longs the honour of being the first *bonâ fide* paddle-wheel steamer that crossed the Atlantic. She was afterwards sold to the Portuguese government, and fitted up as a man-of-war steamer, under the name of the 'Doña Isabella.'

If, however, it be asked, where oceanic communication took its rise, unquestionably that honour belongs to Bristol and the 'Great Western,' a steamer of 210 feet in length, 1240 tons, fitted with two engines of 210 horse-power each. This vessel started on the 8th of March, 1838, under the command of Captain Hosken, reached New York in thirteen days ten hours, and made the return passage in fifteen days. Since that date ocean steamers and steam companies have risen up like mushrooms. England and America have established a kind of weekly Derby, Cunard entering one horse and Collins the other. Unquestionably the Americans have been pioneers in improving the build, and a rivalry has sprung up which is as useful as it is honourable.

The English boats adhere to a greater proportion of sail, in case of accidents to the engine; the Americans carry less sail than we do, for the sake of increasing the speed. As to relative comfort on board the two boats, an American gentleman, who had made several voyages, told me that the only difference he ever dis-

covered was, the same as exists between the hotels of the respective countries.—To return tc litigation.

Another claim frequently set up in America is the invention of the telegraph. Even in the Census Report—which I suppose may be considered a Government work—I read the following:—'It is to American ingenuity that we owe the practical application of the telegraph. While the honour is due to Professor Morse for the practical application and successful prosecution of the telegraph, it is mainly owing to the researches and discoveries of Professor Henry, and other scientific Americans, that he was enabled to perfect so valuable an invention.' It is difficult to conceive a more unblushing piece of effrontery than the foregoing sentence, which proclaims throughout the Union that the electric telegraph in its practical working is the invention of one American, and in its scientific details the invention of other Americans, neither of which assertions has truth for its basis, and consequently the superstructure is a fiction—the only available excuse for which would be, that the writer had never heard of what was going on in Europe. Had he taken the least trouble to inquire into the subject before he wrote he never would—it is to be hoped—have so grossly deceived his countrymen.

He might have easily ascertained that such men as Oersted, Ampère, Arago, Sturgeon, had mastered in detail the various scientific difficulties that stood in the way of the accomplishment of the long-desired object; and he might also have known that Cooke in England and Stienhiel in Germany had both overcome the practical difficulties before Professor Morse had enlightened the Republic with his system, which – like Bain's—is simply another method of producing the same result—*i. e.*, telegraphic communication.

Mr. Cooke took out his patent in conjunction with Professor Wheatstone, whose attention had long been turned to this subject, and whose name has been so much more before the public, that not a few persons attribute the telegraph to him exclusively. There was, indeed, some dispute between them as to their respective claims, and the matter was referred to Sir I. Brunel and Professor Daniell for arbitration. The burden of their decision was, that Mr. Cooke was entitled to stand alone as the gentleman to whom Great Britain is indebted for having practically introduced and carried out the telegraph as a useful undertaking; Professor Wheatstone's profound and successful researches having already prepared the public to receive it.—So much for the justice of the American claim to the invention, which, like steam,

has been the produce of many heads, and was brought into practical use first by Cooke, then by Stienhiel in Germany, and lastly by Morse in America.

Another invention of which the public have heard no little discussion lately is the reaping machine. To the American nation doubtless belongs the credit of forcing it into notice and into use; but as for any claim to the invention, it is equally certain they have none. That honour is due solely to the Rev. Patrick Bell, a Scotch minister in the presbytery of Arbroath. He first tried his reaping machine in August, 1828, at his father's farm, on Lord Airlie's estate, where it has been in yearly use ever since; and in October he exhibited it at the Highland Society's meeting at Glasgow. The principle upon which his first machine was made differs in nothing from those making at this hour; and, as some of the people employed on his father's farm migrated to America, it is only reasonable to suppose they carried sufficient information with them to explain the machine. American ingenuity soon copied, and American energy soon gave an impulse to, Mr. Bell's machine, for which, though denying them the invention, we ought not to deny them our thanks.

But while I thus explain the unwarrantable claims which Americans have set forth, I must not allow

John Bull to lay the flattering unction to his soul that none of his claimed discoveries are disputed on the other side of the Atlantic. I have seen a *Book of Facts* printed in America, which charges us with more than one geographical robbery in the Arctic Seas, in which regions, it is well known, American enterprise and sympathy have been most nobly employed. As I am incapable of balancing the respective claims, I leave that subject to the Hydrographer's office of the two countries.

The citizens of the Republic have but little idea of the injurious effects which the putting forward unwarrantable claims has upon their just claims. I have now before me a letter from a seafaring man who has spent a quarter of a century upon the borders of the United States; he is writing on the subject of their claims to the invention of steam, and he winds up in these words:—'They are with this, as they are with every other thing to which either merit or virtue is attached—the sole and only proprietors and originators, and say both the one and the other are unknown out of the universal Yankee nation.' I do not endorse the sentiment, but I quote it to show the effect produced on some minds by the unfounded claims they have put forward.

They have ingenuity and invention enough legiti-

mately belonging to them for any nation to be justly proud of, without plucking peacock's feathers from others, and sending them throughout the length and breadth of the Republic as the plumage of the American eagle. How many useful inventions have they not made in machinery for working wood? Is not England daily importing some new improvement therein from the American shores? Look again at their perfect and beautiful invention for the manufacture of seamless bags, by Mr. Cyrus Baldwin, and which he has at work at the Stark Mills. There are 126 looms in operation, all self-acting and each one making 47 bags daily; the bags are a little more than three and a half feet long, and chiefly used, I believe, for flour and grain. When they are finished, sewing-machines are at hand, which can hem at the rate of 650 bags each daily. This same gentleman has also adapted his looms to the making hoses for water, of which he can complete 1000 feet a day by the experimental loom now in use, and it is more than probable these hoses will entirely supersede the use of the leather ones, being little more than one-tenth the price, and not requiring any expense to keep in order.

Another and very important purpose to which their ingenuity has applied machinery is, the manufacture

of fire-arms. It has long been a matter of surprise to me, why so obvious and useful an application of machinery was neglected by the Government at home. The advantages of being able to transfer all screws, springs, nipples, hammers, &c., from one musket to another, are so manifest to the most infantine comprehension, that I suppose they considered it beneath their notice; nor can I make out that they have duly inquired into the various breech-loading systems used in the States, some of which they have been testing in their Navy for years. As, however, we are beginning to copy their application of machinery, I dare say the next generation will take up the question of breech-loading arms.

The introduction of any dissertation on fire-arms would be out of place in the text of a book of travels; but as it is a subject upon which there has lately been much discussion, and in which my countrymen appear to take no small interest, I have given in the *Appendix E* such information as I have been able to obtain, and parts of which I feel sure are not generally known.

A few observations on the Militia appear to follow naturally after remarks on fire-arms. According to the most reliable information which I have been able to obtain, every able-bodied male between 18

and 40 years of age is liable to militia service. Those who do not serve are subject to a fine, varying in different States, from 3*s*. upwards; which sum helps to pay those who do duty. The pay of a private while on duty is about 10*s*. a-day, and that of officers in proportion. Formerly, they only turned out two days in the year; now, I believe, they generally turn out ten, and in some of the cities twenty, days annually. The persons excused from militia service, are the clergy, medical men, fire companies, and those who have held a commission for three years. Each regiment settles its own uniform; and it is a strange sight to see companies in French, German, and Highland uniforms, all marching gaily through the streets.

The day of firing at a mark is quite a fête; they parade the town, with the target untouched, on their road to the ground; there they commence firing, at 100 yards; if the bull's-eye be not sufficiently riddled, they get closer and closer, until, perforated and in shreds, it scarce hangs together as they return through the town bearing it aloft in triumph, and followed by all the washed, half-washed, and unwashed aspirants to military glory.

I believe the good sense of the people is endeavouring to break through the system of nationalizing the companies into French, German, Highland, &c., be-

lieving, that keeping up such distinctions is more calculated to produce discord than harmony. How long it will be before they succeed in eradicating these separate nationalities, I cannot pretend to say.

With respect to their numbers, I cannot give any accurate information. *The American Almanack*—generally a very useful source of information—puts them down at 2,202,113; which is evidently a little bit of Buncombe, as those figures represent very nearly the whole able-bodied men in the Republic between the ages of 18 and 40. As they are liable to be called on, the *Almanack* puts them down as though regularly enrolled; their real numbers I leave to the fertility of the imagination. In the same authority, I find the officers calculated at 76,920, of which 765 are generals. These numbers, I imagine, must also go through a powerful process of subtraction before the exact truth would be arrived at, although I believe there are twice 765 citizens who enjoy the titular honour.

One fact, however, is beyond doubt; they have a large militia, accustomed to, and fond of, using fire-arms; and those who feel disposed to approach their shores with hostile intentions, will find the old Scotch motto applicable to them in its fullest sense,—

'Nemo me impune lacessit.'

## CHAPTER XV.

### *Adverse Influences.*

I NOW come to the consideration of the annual celebration of the 4th July, an event which presents itself to my mind under two opposite aspects, the one beneficial, the other injurious. If contemplated as a nation's grateful acknowledgment to Providence for the successful termination of an arduous struggle for independence, it assumes an aspect at once dignified and Christian; but if into its celebration other elements enter which are calculated to nourish hostile feelings towards those who have long ceased to reciprocate such unworthy sentiments, in that case I think its aspect may be fairly termed both injurious and unchristian.

Let me then call your attention to the method of celebration. It consists of three parts:—First, the reading of the Declaration of Independence; secondly, an oration on the subject; lastly, procession and jollification.

Now what is the Declaration of Independence?

It is a document which details their views of the oppression and injustice which justified their rebellion against the mother country. The clauses are too numerous to quote in full, but I subjoin a few, that the reader may form his own opinion. Speaking of the sovereign of Great Britain, they say he has protected 'armed troops among us, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States. He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people. He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation. He has constrained our fellow-citizens taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands. He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions. In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned

for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.'

I pause not to ask if any of these charges are correct or not: grant them accuracy in every statement, nay more, admit that they were eminently calculated to stir up the feelings of the colonists, and to inflame that spirit which was requisite to make their struggle for independence justifiable and successful, and that they were therefore called for by the emergencies of the day;—but nearly eighty years have rolled over since that Declaration was penned; there is no success sought for now which renders such appeals necessary, and surely it is not for the purpose of justifying their rebellion that they are made. Where then is the good to be derived from such declarations? Is there any misgiving in the Republic as to sentiments of patriotism or pluck? Surely none. But who can help seeing the evil to which they lead? These annual recapitulations of old grievances, buried beneath nearly a century, must tend to excite hostile feelings towards England. Conceive for one moment France reading annually a declaration of independence from British arms on the

anniversary of their recapture of Calais, and engrossing in that document every injustice or atrocity which the English perpetrated during their rule; not to mention the undignified nature of such a course, who can doubt that it would be pre-eminently calculated to generate those hostile feelings which it is the bounden duty of all civilized States to allay? In short, what does it so much resemble as the system by which, in barbarous days long since past, the Highland clans used to perpetuate their feuds. If a Christian community cannot glory in and commemorate national independence without such adjuncts, such a ceremony would, in my humble opinion, be more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

Among other pernicious influences, I should mention that the Irish celebrate the battle of the Boyne annually in order to prevent their national angry passions from subsiding. Not the least curious features in these same Paddies is the fact that, while cursing England for her treatment of Ireland, they all unite as one man in favour of Slavery. Mr. Mitchell, the escaped convict, is said to have expressed his opinion that a plantation on the Alabama river with fifty sleek slaves, was the *beau idéal* of a terrestrial paradise. If he be a bachelor, and still

entertain the same sentiments, I would recommend him to take 'The stewardess of the Lady Franklin' as the sharer of his joys.

With regard to the orations pronounced, the one I heard at Geneseo had nothing that struck me as in any way lending itself to those feelings I have so freely censured; but it is not always so. I have before me now an epitome of a speech made by the Honourable D. S. Dickenson, at Syracuse, on July 4th, 1853. Being an honourable, it is not unfair to suppose him—mind, I say to suppose him—a man of superior attainment, selected by a well-educated people. The epitome is headed 'Vigorous Discussion and Patriotic Sentiments.' I only quote one passage, which I could almost fancy Matthew Ward, the hero of the Louisville school-room, had written; it runs thus:—'The eloquent orator then went on for nearly half an hour in a strain of withering sarcasm and invective, exposing the shameless and wicked oppressions of England in her collieries, in her factories, in her oppression of Ireland; denouncing her as a nation whose history was written in oppression and blood (*great applause.*')—It is difficult to believe that the chosen representative of an intelligent community should thus speak of that nation to which his own country is indebted for nearly every valuable institu-

tion she possesses; but when such ridiculous vituperation is received with shouts of applause from the gaping rowdies who throng around him, does it not clearly demonstrate the truth of my previous statements as to the effects which the celebration of the 4th of July, as now observed, may naturally lead to? I say, may lead to, because I would fain hope, for the sake of the credit and dignity of the Republic, that such disreputable orations are rare exceptions.

But that such feelings of aversion to the mother country are generated among the masses, is proved indirectly in another quarter—viz., Congress. During the debate on the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, a Mr. Douglas, to whom I have before alluded, and who may be considered as the representative of the rabid and rowdy portion of the community, thus expresses himself with regard to England: 'It is impossible she can love us,—I do not blame her for not loving us,—sir, we have wounded her vanity and humbled her pride,—she can never forgive us. But for us, she would be the first Power on the face of the earth,—but for us, she would have the prospect of maintaining that proud position which she held for so long a period. We are in her way. She is jealous of us; and jealousy forbids the idea of friendship. England does not love us; she cannot love us, and we cannot love

her either. We have some things in the past to remember that are not agreeable. She has more in the present to humiliate her that she cannot forgive.' —After which expressions, the poor little man, as though he had not the slightest conception of the meaning of the words he was using, adds the following sentence, deprecating all he had previously uttered: 'I do not wish to administer to the feeling of jealousy and rivalry that exists between us and England. I wish to soften and smooth it down as much as possible.'

On a subsequent occasion, Mr. Butler, senator for South Carolina, who honestly did deprecate such language as the foregoing, referred, by way of contrast, to the many constitutional principles the Republic had derived from England, and also to the valuable literature which she had produced, and by which the Republic had benefited. Upon which, poor Mr. Douglas got furious, and asserted, that 'Every English book circulated contains lurking and insidious slanders and libels upon the character of our people and the institutions and policy of our Government.'—He then discovered that abolitionism began in England, and that 'she keeps her missionaries perambulating this country, delivering lectures and scattering abroad incendiary publications, designed to excite prejudices,

hate, and strife between the different sections of the Union.'—He then, with Illinois truthfulness, hints at *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, as though it were English literature, and which, he says, 'is designed to stir up treason and insurrection around his—Mr. Butler's —fireside,' &c.—He returns to the charge, and asserts, with equal accuracy, 'Millions are being expended to distribute *Uncle Tom's Cabin* throughout the world, with the view of combining the fanaticism, ignorance, and hatred of all the nations of the earth in a common crusade against the peculiar institutions of the State and section of this Union represented by the senator from South Carolina.' One might almost imagine that the copy of Webster's Dictionary, which Mr. Douglas has in his library—if he possess such a thing —has omitted an old English word, spelt T R U T H.

But the point I wish to call the reader's especial attention to, is, that the little senator's rabid rhapsody was received with shouts of gallery applause, which, as I have before observed, is an exhibition of sentiment not allowed in the Senate to either members of Congress or gallery. Yet, so thoroughly had he expressed the feelings of the said rowdies, that they could not resist the unlawful burst of approval. Mr. Butler of course replied to his absurd arguments; but my object is not discussion. I only allude to the

subject at all for the purpose of proving my previous assertion, that within the walls of Congress itself, elements calculated to engender feelings of animosity towards Great Britain are to be found at work. It is this deep-seated consciousness of guilt that makes that portion of the citizens of the Republic so sensitive with regard to the observations which proceed from this country. Americans like Mr. Butler, who maintain the dignity of their country without descending to paltry popularity-hunting calumny, can afford to read any criticisms which may come from across the water with as much calmness as American remarks are read here. Such men have no accusing conscience gnawing at their vitals. If the population of the two countries were fed upon Judge Douglas's venomous diet, ere long, like the Kilkenny cats, nothing but the tails would be left.

I have felt it imperative to make these remarks, that my countrymen may understand why they so constantly find the strongest symptoms of hostility to England in a certain class of American writers. Even in the text-books for children, you can detect the same animus working. Miss Willard, in her *History of the United States*, narrates that six Indian chiefs came to Colonel Washington, the grandfather of the founder of the Republic, to treat for peace. The

treachery to, and cold-blooded murder of, these poor Indians she disposes of thus:—'He *wrongfully* put them to death.' General Clinton's conduct, in the prosecution of his duties to his country, which never displayed any such revolting act, she describes as reviving in a civilized age '*barbarous atrocities.*'—Take another instance of amiable sentiments towards England, as exhibited by the Common Council of New York, who voted £200 to entertain John Mitchell, the convict who had escaped from custody. The Mayor addresses him in the following terms:—'When, sir, you were silenced by restraint, overpowered by brutal force, and foreign bayonets were employed on your own soil to suppress truth and to bind upon your limbs and mind the shackles of slavery, we sympathized with you in your adversity. We hated the tyrant and loved the victim. And when, sir, after the semblance of a trial, you were condemned and hurried as a felon from your home, your country, and your friends, to a distant land, we were filled with indignation, and pledged a deeper hatred towards the enemies of man.'—Mr. Mitchell, in reply, confesses himself from earliest youth a traitor to his country, and honours the British Government with the following epithets: 'I say to them that they are not a government at all, but a gang of conspirators, of robbers, of murderers.'

These sentiments were received by the multitude around with 'great applause.' Considering how many causes for exciting ill-will exist, the only wonder is that, when so large a portion of the Republicans are utterly ignorant of the truth as regards England, the feeling is not more hostile.

It is needless to assert, that the feelings of jealousy and animosity ascribed to England by Mr. Douglas, exist only in the disordered imagination of his own brain and of those of the deluded gulls who follow in his train; for I am proud to say no similar undignified and antagonistic elements are at work here; and, if any attempt were made to introduce them, the good sense of the country would unite with one voice to cry them down. I defy all the educated, ignorant, or rabid population of the Republic to bring forward any instance where, either in the celebration of any ceremony, the orations of any senator, or the meetings of any corporation, such unworthy and contemptible animosity towards the United States has ever been shadowed forth.

I must not, however, allow the reader to understand from the foregoing remark that there is an universal national antipathy to England; although, whenever she is brought into juxtaposition with the Republic, it may appear very strongly developed. The most

erroneous impressions are at this moment abroad among my countrymen, in respect of American sympathies with Russia. Filibusteros, rabid annexationists, inveterate Slaveholders, and Rowdies of every class, to which must be added a few ignoble minds who make the grave of conscience a 'stump' from which to pour forth Buncombe speeches to catch ephemeral popularity, constitute the body in America who sympathize with Russia. All the intelligence of the North, and a great proportion of that of the South, feel the deepest interest in our success, not merely as descendants of the mother country, but also because they recognise the war in which we are engaged as a struggle in the cause of liberty. We must neither be deceived by the Filibustero Press, nor by the accounts we read of vessels laden with arms carrying them to Russia. Those are no more proofs of the national feeling, than the building of slave-clippers every year at Baltimore is a proof that the nation wishes to encourage the slave-trade. The true feeling of a nation must be sought for far deeper than in the superficial clamour of political demagogues, backed though it be by the applause of gaping crowds whose worst passions are pandered to for the sake of a transient breath of popularity.

# GENERAL CHAPTER.

## *Olla Podrida.*

THE preceding observations lead naturally to a few observations upon American character in a national point of view; for in treating of so exceedingly varied a community, combining as it does nearly every nation of the Old World, it would be beyond the limits of a work like this to enter into details on so complicated a subject.

As I prefer commencing with the objectionable points, and winding up with the more favourable, I shall first name Vanity as a great national feature. The fulsome adulation with which the Press bespatters its readers, throughout the length and breadth of the Union, whenever any comparisons are drawn with other nations, is so great that the masses have become perfectly deluded; and being so far removed from the nations of the Old World, and knowing, consequently, nothing of them except through the columns of a vanity-feeding Press, they receive the most exaggerated statements as though they were Gospel truths

—little aware how supremely ridiculous the vaunting which they read with delight makes them appear in the eyes of other people.

I insert the following extract from the Press, as one instance among many of the vain and ridiculous style of some of their editorial leaders. It is taken from the *New York Herald*—one of the most widely-circulated papers in the Union, but one which, I am bound in justice to say, is held in contempt[a] by the more intelligent portion of the community. Speaking of Mrs. B. Stowe's reception in England, he says:—'She proves herself quite an American in her intercourse with the English aristocracy. Her self-possession, ease, and independence of manner were quite undisturbed in the presence of the proud duchesses and fraughty dames of the titled English nobility. They expected timidity and fear, and reverence for their titles, in an untitled person, and they found themselves disappointed. Mrs. Stowe felt herself their equal in social life, and acted among them as she felt. This, above all other things, has caused a great astonishment in the higher circles in favour of

[a] The *New York Herald* is edited by two renegade British subjects, one of whom was, I am told, formerly a writer in a scurrilous publication in this country.

American women, for in fact it is a quality peculiarly distinguishing an American woman, that she can be and is a duchess among duchesses.'

Even in the simple article of diplomatic dress we see the same feature peeping out. Vanity may be discovered as readily in singularity, however simple, as in the naked savage who struts about as proud as a peacock, with no covering but a gold-laced cocked hat on his head and a brass-mounted sword at his side. When civilized society agrees upon some distinctive uniform for diplomatic service, who can fail to observe the lurking vanity that dictated the abolition of it by the Republic?—not to mention the absurdity of wearing a sword in plain clothes. The only parallel it has among bipeds, that I know of, is a master-at-arms on board a ship, with a cane by his side; but then he carries a weapon which he is supposed to use. The Minister of the Republic carries a weapon for ornament only. In quadruped life, it reminds me of a poodle closely shaved all over, except a little tuft at the end of his tail, the sword and the tuft recalling to mind the fact that the respective possessors have been shorn of something.

Firmly convinced, from my earliest school-boy days, of the intimate connexion which exists between boasting and bullying, I had long blushed to feel

how pre-eminent my own country was in the ignoble practice; but a more intimate acquaintance with the United States has thoroughly satisfied me that that pre-eminence justly belongs to the great Republic. But it is not merely in national matters that this feeling exhibits itself; you observe it in ordinary life as well, by the intense love shown for titles; nobody is contented until he obtain some rank. I am aware this is a feature inseparable from democracy. Everybody you meet is Captain, Colonel, General, Honourable, Judge, or something; and if they cannot obtain it legitimately, they obtain it by courtesy, or sometimes facetiously, like a gentleman I have before alluded to, who obtained the rank of judge because he was a connoisseur in wine. In these, and a thousand other ways, the love of vanity stands nationally revealed.

I do not think Americans are aware what injustice they do themselves by this love of high-sounding titles.[a] For instance, in a paper before me, I see a Deputy Sheriff calling on the mob to resist the law;

[a] It has been cited as an example of their fondness for grand-sounding titles, that while, by the Census of Great Britain, there were only 2,328 physicians to 15,163 surgeons, in the United States there were 40,564 physicians to only 191 surgeons.

I see Governor Bigler authorizing General King to call out the military, one naturally supposes to keep order; but I observe he calls Mr. Walker, of Erie, a traitor and a scoundrel; of the directors and managers of the railroad he says, 'We will whip them, will whip them, will bury them so deep electricity can't reach them—we will whip them—we will whip the g—ts out of them!' &c.—Now, judging of these people by their titles, as recognised by the rest of the civilized world, what a disgrace to the higher classes of Americans is the foregoing! But anybody who really knows the title system of the Republic will at once see that the orator was a mere rowdy. Thus they suffer for their vanity. It pervades every class of the whole community, from the rowdy, who talks of 'whipping creation, to the pulpit orator, who often heralds forth past success to feed the insatiable appetite; in short, it has become a national disease; and were it not for the safety-valve formed by the unmeasured terms of mutual vituperation they heap upon each other on occasions of domestic squabbles, their fate would assuredly be that of the frog in the fable.

In the medical world it is said no one has a cold without fever; and I think it may with equal truth be asserted of the national world, no nations are vain without being afflicted with sensitiveness; at all

events it is true as regards the United States. No maiden in her teens is so ticklishly sensitive as the Americans. I do not refer merely to that portion of the community of which I have selected Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, as the type; I allude also to the far higher order of intelligence with which the Republic abounds. There is a touchiness about them all with respect to national and local questions which I never saw equalled; in fact, the few sheets of their Press which reach this country are alone sufficient to convince any one on that point; for in a free country the Press may always be fairly considered, to a certain extent, as the reflex of the public mind. I suppose it is with nations as with individuals, and that each are alike blind to their own failings. In no other way can I account for the Republic overlooking so entirely the sensitiveness of others. Take for instance the appointment of M. Soulé—a Frenchman naturalized in America—as minister to the court of Spain. I do not say that he was a Filibustero, but he was universally supposed to be identified with that party; and if he were not so identified, he showed a puerile ignorance of the requirements of a Minister, quite beyond conception, when he received a serenade of five thousand people at New York, who came in procession, bearing aloft the accompanying transparencies, he being at the time accredited to his new ministry.

On the first transparency was the following motto:—

| | |
|---|---|
| A STAR. | PIERCE. |
| SOULE. | CUBA. |

On the second banner:—

YOUNG AMERICA AND YOUNG CUBA.

Free thought and free speech for the Cubans.

'Tis no flight of fancy, for
Cuba must be, and 'tis
Written by fate, an isle
Great and free.

O pray, ye doomed tyrants,
Your fate's not far:
A dread Order now watches you,—
It is the Lone Star.

On the third banner:—

Cuba must and shall be free.

The Antilles Flower,
The true Key of the Gulf,
Must be plucked from the Crown
Of the Old Spanish Wolf.

Monumental representation—a tomb and a weeping willow. On the tomb were the words:—

LOPEZ AND CRITTENDEN,
AGUERO AND ARMATERO.
They and their companions are not forgotten.

M. Soulé accepts the compliment, and makes a speech, in which he informs his audience that he cannot believe 'that this mighty nation can be chained now within the narrow limits which fettered the young Republic of America,' &c.

Change the scene, and let any American judge in the following supposed and parallel case. Imagine expeditions fitted out in England, in spite of Government, to free the slaves in the Southern States; imagine a Lopez termination to the affair, and the rowdy blood of England forming other Filibustero expeditions; then imagine the Hon. Mr. Tenderheart identifying himself with them, and receiving an appointment as minister to Washington; after which, imagine him serenaded at St James' by thousands of people bearing transparencies, the first representing a naked woman under the slave-driver's lash; the second, containing some such verses as 'The Antilles Flower,' &c.; for instance:—

'The slaves must be plucked
From the chains that now gall 'em,
Though American wolves
An inferior race call 'em.'

Let the Minister accept the serenade, and address the multitude, declaring 'that this mighty nation can no longer be chained down to passive interference,' &c. Let me ask any American how the Hon. Mr.

Tenderheart would be received at Washington, particularly if a few days after he took a shot at his French colleague because another person insulted him in that gentleman's house?—I ask, what would Americans say if such a line of conduct were to be pursued towards them? I might go further, and suppose that a conclave of English Ministers met at Quebec, and discussed the question as to how far the flourishing town of Buffalo, so close on the frontier, was calculated to endanger the peace and prosperity of Canada, and then imagine them winding up their report with this clause—If it be so—'then by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from its present owners.' The American who penned that sentence must possess a copy of the Scriptures unknown to the rest of the world. Surely America must imagine she has the monopoly of all the sensitiveness in the world, or she would never have acted by Spain as she has done. How humiliated must she feel while contemplating the contrast between her act in appointing the Minister, and Spain's demeanour in her silent and dignified reception of him.

This same sensitiveness peeps out in small things as well as great, especially where England is concerned; thus, one writer discovers that the Americans speak French better than the English; probably he

infers it from having met a London Cit who had run over to Paris for a quiet Sunday, and who asked him '*Moosyere savvay voo oo ey lay Toolureeze ?*' Another discovers that American society is much more sought after than English; that Americans are more agreeable, more intelligent, more liberal, &c.; but the comparison is always with England or the English. And why all this? Simply because it feeds the morbid appetite of many Republican citizens, which the pure truth would not.

This sensitiveness also shows itself in the way they watch the opinions of their country expressed by the *Times*, or by any largely circulating paper. I remember an American colonel who had been through the whole Mexican war, saying to me one day, 'I assure you the Mexican troops are the most contemptible soldiers in the world; I would rather a thousand to one face them than half the number of Camanche Indians.'—The object of this remark was to show on what slight and insufficient grounds the *Times* had spoken of the United States as a great military nation since the Mexican war. An article giving them due credit for a successful campaign was easily magnified beyond its intended proportions, and my gallant friend was modestly disclaiming so high-sounding an appellation; but such evidently was the

construction which he felt his countrymen had put upon it.

I turn now for a few moments to the question of Morals; and here, again, it is of course only in a wholesale manner I can treat of the subject. As far as my inquiries enable me to judge, I find the same elements producing the same results here as in England. Wherever masses are clustered together most largely, there vice runs as rampant as in England; nay, I have the authority of a lecture delivered at the Maryland Institute, for saying that it is even worse in many places. After describing various instances of lawless conduct, the lecturer continues thus: 'Such lawlessness as I have described is not tolerated in any other part of the world, and would not be tolerated here for a moment, but for the criminal apathy of our citizens generally, and the truckling, on the part of our politicians and public officers, for the votes of the very men whom they know to be violating and trampling on the laws.'—In illustration, he states, 'In every part of Europe in which I have travelled,—in England, Holland, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy; under all the different systems of religion and forms of government; in the large cities and the small towns and villages; in the highways and byways,—I found better public order, more de-

corum, where bodies of men were assembled together, and less tendency to rowdyism, pugilism, and violence than there is in most parts of this country. In this general statement of the fact, all unprejudiced travellers will, I suppose, concur.'—Further on, he draws a comparison favourable to London; and, with regard to the Police in our metropolis, he says, 'A more respectable and finer looking body of men it would be difficult to find in any country. A stranger may apply to one for information, with a certainty of receiving a polite and intelligent answer,' &c.—I only quote the last paragraph, in case Mr. Matt. Ward should see these pages, and that he may know how the Police behave towards those who know how to conduct themselves.[a]

The lecturer goes on to complain of the depravity of youth. He then attacks the dispensation of the law, pointing out many instances of their maladministration. He then proceeds to attack the fire companies; he admits their courage and daring, but points out at the same time their lawlessness. He says—speaking of Philadelphia—'Almost every company has its war-song, breathing the most

[a] *Vide* chapter ix., 'America's Press and England's Censor,' page 156.

barbarous and bloodthirsty sentiments towards some rival association, and describing the glory of the fireman to be the destruction of his enemy's apparatus, or, worse yet, his life.' — He gives the following list of the terrific names of the companies: 'Hornets, Snappers, Blood-reds, Bed-bugs, Rock-boys, Buffaloes, Skimmers, Scrougers, Revengers, Knockers, Black-hawks, Pirate-boys, Kill-devils.' After which, he gives the following specimen of their songs, written by a 'Bluffer and Red-devil:'—

INDEPENDENT HOSE SONG.

'We're the saucy Hyena-boys of George's-street, as all knows;
We can whip the Penn and Globe, likewise the Carroll Hose;
We'll whip the three together, the Bed-bugs and South Penn throw in for ease;
We do run our carriage among our foes, and run her where we please.

'You'd better hush your blowing, Globe, if you know when you are well;
For if we take your engine again, we'll smash her all to hell.
Here is luck to the Bluffers, and all honest boys of that name;
Here is to the Hyenas and Red-devils, that no one can tame.'

He subsequently points out the evils of allowing political passions to guide citizens in the selection of

officers, and declares, 'that persons are elected to, and now fill, important offices in Baltimore, to whom no responsible trust in private life would be confided by the very men who voted for them.'[a] With regard to the actual commission of crime, and the due punishment of the offenders, he draws the following comparison between London and Baltimore: The population of the former is 13 times greater than that of the latter; but the number of arrests is as 1 to 7,—in other words, the commission of crime, in proportion to numbers, was 46 per cent. greater than in London. Then, to show the inefficiency of the law, he proceeds to state, that the commitments for trial were only 29 per cent. greater, and that, even of those committed, many escaped just punishment. Of course, the large cities in America are the only

[a] One of the few cases in which perhaps there is an advantage in the masses voting, is where a question of public advantage is brought forward, to which many and powerful local interests or monopolies are opposed. Take, for instance, the supply of London with good water, which the most utter dunderhead must admit to be most desirable; yet the influence of vested interests is so strong that its two millions of inhabitants seem destined to be poisoned for centuries, and the lanes and courts will, in all probability, continue as arid as the desert during the same period.—London, look at New York and blush!

places in which any comparison can be made with this country; but, while doing so, the tide of emigration, which helps to fill up their numbers, must not be lost sight of, or we should judge them unfairly.

With regard to the masses that are spread over the length and breadth of the land, I certainly have never seen nor heard anything that need make England ashamed of the comparison. It would not be equitable to judge by mere numbers,—you must also bring into the balance the comparative state of affluence and independence of the respective parties; for who can doubt that distress is one of the great causes of crime? Even in the wealthy State of New York, I find an account of the following outrage, committed upon a Mr. Lawrence, when serving a summons upon his aggressor, Mr. Deitz: 'He found Mr. Deitz near the house, and handed him the papers. Deitz took them and read them, when he threw them on the ground,—seized Lawrence by the throat, calling him a d——d scoundrel, for coming to serve papers on him. He then called to his family to blow a horn, when a man, named Hollenbeck, who was at work for Deitz as a mason, interceded for Lawrence, who managed to get away, and started off on a run. Deitz followed in pursuit, knocked Lawrence down, and

held him until four men in disguise made their appearance. They then tied his hands behind him, and took him to a small piece of bush near by,—then tore off his coat, vest, and cravat, and with a jack-knife cut off his hair, occasionally cutting his scalp,—and, remarking that they had a plaster that would heal it up, they tarred his head and body, and poured tar into his boots. After exhausting all their ingenuity this way, each cut a stick, and whipped him until they got tired. They then tied his hands before him, and started him for the house, each of them kicking him at every step. They made him take the papers back, but took them away again. When, after knocking him down again, they left him, and he succeeded in reaching the residence of George Beckers last evening. His legs, hands, arms, and face are badly bruised.'—If we travel West and South, we shall doubtless find that morality is far more lax than in England; but what can you expect where gentlemen, even the senators for States, go out to fight bloody duels with rifles at twenty paces, while crowds of spectators are looking on?

Where the Americans have the advantage over our population is, first and foremost, in possessing a boundless extent of territory which gives a rich return for comparatively little labour, and where, if

labour is wanted, the scarcity of the article insures its commanding a high price. Compare England for one moment with two of the oldest American States, and therefore the most thickly populated:—

| | | Square Miles. | Inhabitants. |
|---|---|---|---|
| England | contains . . . | 50,000 ... | 17,923,000 |
| New York | „ . . . | 46,000 ... | 3,097,000 |
| Pennsylvania | „ . . . | 46,000 ... | 2,311,786 |

We here see, that if we take the most populous States in the Union, the proportion is nearly 6 to 1 in favour of America; but, if we mass the whole, we shall find—

| | Square Miles. | Inhabitants. |
|---|---|---|
| Great Britain and Ireland contain | . . 120,000 ... | 27,400,000 |
| United States . . . . . | 3,500,000 ... | 23,192,000 |

This would bring the proportion of population to extent of territory, in rough numbers:—

Great Britain & Ireland 228 inhabitants to the square mile.
United States . . . 7 „ „ „

In other words, Great Britain is 32 times as thickly populated as the Republic. If these facts are borne in mind, I confess that the commission of crime in Great Britain appears to me proportionably far smaller than in the States, notwithstanding all the advantages of the free and liberal education which is within their reach.

I cannot but think that the general system of training youth in the Republic, has a most prejudicial effect, in many instances, on their after life. In their noble zeal for the education of the brain, they appear to me to lose sight almost entirely of the necessity of disciplining the mind to that obedience to authority, which lays the foundation of self-control and respect for the laws of the land. Nationally speaking, there is scarcely such a thing as a lad in the whole Union. A boy in the States hardly gets over the novelty of that portion of his dress which marks the difference of sex, ere his motto is: 'I don't care; I shall do what I blest please:' in short, he is made a man before he ceases to be a boy; he consequently becomes unable to exercise that restraint which better discipline might have taught him, and the acts of his after life are thus more likely to be influenced by passion and self-will, than by reason or reflection. I find in the lecture from which I have already quoted, the following paragraph, which, as I consider it illustrative of my last observation, I insert at length.

'But the most alarming feature in the condition of things, not only in the city, but elsewhere throughout the country, is the lawlessness of the youth. The most striking illustration of this which I have seen is taken from a Cincinnati paper of last January. It seems that in the course of a few days one hundred

applications had been made by parents in that city to have their own children sent to the House of Refuge. The particulars of one case, which happened a short time before, are given ;—a boy, twelve years of age, was brought before the Mayor's Court by his father, who stated that the family were absolutely afraid the youth would take their lives, and that he had purchased a pistol for the purpose of shooting the housekeeper. A double-barrelled pistol was produced in court, which the police-officer had taken from the boy, who avowed that he had bought it for the purpose stated. The mayor sent the boy to the House of Refuge.'

I now pass on to the question of Liberty in the United States. If by liberty be understood the will of the greater number ruling the State, or regulating its laws, certainly they have more liberty than England ; but if by liberty be understood that balance of power and adaptation of the laws to the various interests of the whole community, combined with the due execution of them against offenders of whatever class, then I consider that there is unquestionably more liberty in England, in spite of the restrictions by which the franchise is limited—nay, rather I should say, in consequence of those very restrictions; for I believe they tend to secure the services of more liberal, high-minded, and independent representatives than any country—however highly educated its population may be—would return under a system of universal

suffrage. I do not intend to convey in the foregoing observation, any opinion as to how far it is desirable, or otherwise, to modify the restrictions at present existing in England; it is obvious they should keep pace with the growing intelligence of the community, inasmuch as, if they do not, popular agitation is readily excited, and violent changes are forced by ignorant passion, going far beyond those which educated prudence and a sense of justice ought to have brought forward.—Prevention is better than cure.

Mr. Everett, in a letter dated July 25, 1853, after observing that it has long been the boast of England that she is the great city of refuge for the rest of Europe, adds, 'it is the prouder boast of the United States, that they are, and ever have been, an asylum for the rest of the world, including Great Britain herself:' he then goes on to say, 'no citizen has ever been driven into banishment.'—This is bravely said by an able son of the 'Land of Liberty;' but when he penned it, he appears to have forgotten that there are upwards of three millions of his own fellow-creatures held in the galling shackles of hopeless slavery by the citizens of that land of which he makes so proud a boast; and that from one to two thousand of the wretched victims escape annually to the British colony adjoining, which is their sole city of refuge on

the whole North American continent. Doubtless Mr. Everett's countrymen do not sufficiently know this startling point of difference, or they would hesitate in accepting such a boast. So ignorant are some of his countrymen of the real truth as regards the citizens of Great Britain, that a friend of mine was asked by a well educated and otherwise intelligent son of the Republic, 'Is it really true that all the land in England belongs to the Queen?'

While on the subject of liberty, it is well to observe one or two curious ways in which it may be said to be controlled in America. If any gentleman wished to set up a marked livery for his servants, he could not do so without being the subject of animadversions in the rowdy Press, styling him a would-be aristocrat. But perhaps the most extraordinary vagary is the Yankee notion that service is degrading; the consequence of which is that you very rarely see a Yankee servant; and if by chance you find one on a farm, he insists on living and eating with the overseer. So jealous are they of the appearance of service, that on many of the railways there was considerable difficulty in getting the guard, or conductor, to wear a riband on his hat designating his office, and none of the people attached to the railway station will put on any livery or uniform by which they can be known. I

wonder if it ever occurs to these sons of the Republic, that in thus acting they are striking at the very root of their vaunted equal rights of man, and spreading a broader base of aristocracy than even the Old World can produce. Servants, of course, there must be in every community, and it is ridiculous to suppose that American gentlemen ever did, or ever will, live with their housemaids, cooks, and button-boys; and if this be so, and that Americans consider such service as degrading, is it not perfectly clear that the sons of the soil set themselves up as nobles, and look upon the emigrants—on whom the duties of service chiefly devolve—in the light of serfs?

I may, while discussing service, as well touch upon the subject of strikes. The Press in America is very ready to pass strictures on the low rate of wages in this country, such as the three-ha'penny shirt-makers, and a host of other ill-paid and hard-worked poor. Every humane man must regret to see the pressure of competition producing such disgraceful results; but my American friends, if they look carefully into their own country, will see that they act in precisely the same way, as far as they are able. In short, that they get labour as cheap as they can. Fortunately for the poor emigrant, the want of hands is so great, that they can ensure a decent remuneration for their

work; but the proof that the Anglo-Saxon in America is no better than the rest of the world in this respect, is to be found in the fact that strikes for higher wages also take place among them. I remember once reading in the same paper of the strike of three different interests; one of which was that indispensable body, the hotel waiters. The negroes even joined with the whites, and they gained their point; they knew the true theory of strikes, and made their move 'when the market was rising.' The hotels were increasing their charges, and they merely wanted their share of the prosperity.

I now propose to consider one of the brightest features in the national character—Intelligence. Irresistible testimony is borne to their appreciation of the value of education, not merely by the multitudes of schools of all kinds, and by the numbers that attend them, but also by that arrangement of which they may be so justly proud, and which opens the door to every branch of study to their poorest citizens free of expense. No praise is too high for such a noble national institution as the school system of the Republic. How far it may be advisable to bring all the various classes of the community together at that early age when habits which affect after life are so readily acquired, is another question. Though the

roughness of the many may derive advantage from contact with the polish of the few, it appears to me more than probable that the polish of the few will be influenced far more considerably by the roughness of the many. I cannot, therefore, but imagine that the universal admixture of all classes of society in early infancy must operate prejudicially to that advancement in the refinements of civilization which tends to give a superior tone to the society of every country. It must not, however, be imagined that the intelligence obtained at these schools is confined to those subjects which are requisite for making dollars and cents. People of this country, judging of the Republicans by the general accounts given of them through the Press, can have little idea of the extent to which the old standard works of the mother country are read; but there is an intelligent portion of our own nation to be found among the booksellers, who can enlighten them on this point. I have been told by several of them, not only that old editions of our best authors are rapidly being bought up by citizens of the United States, but that in making their purchases they exhibit an intimate acquaintance with them far greater than they find generally among Englishmen, and which proves how thoroughly they are appreciated by them.

Then again, with reference to their own country; it is impossible for any one to travel among them without being struck with the universal intelligence they possess as to its constitution, its politics, its laws, and all general subjects connected with its prosperity or its requirements; and if they do not always convey their information in the most classical language, at all events they convey it in clear and unmistakeable terms. The Constitution of their country is regularly taught at their schools, and doubtless it is owing to this early insight into the latent springs by which the machinery of Government is worked, that their future appetite for more minute details becomes whetted. I question very much if every boy, on leaving a high school in the United States, does not know far more of the institutions of his country than nine-tenths of the members of the British House of Commons do of theirs. At the same time it should not be forgotten, that the complications which have grown up with a nationality of centuries render the study far more difficult in this country, than it possibly can be in the giant Republic of yesterday. And in the same way taxation in England, of which £30,000,000 is due as interest on debt before the State receives one farthing for its disbursements, is one of the most intricate questions to be understood even by enlarged

minds; whereas in the United States, scarcely any taxation exists, and the little that does, creates a surplus revenue which they often appear at a loss to know how to get rid of.

Doubtless, the intelligence of the community sometimes exhibits itself in a 'cuteness which I am not prepared to defend. A clear apprehension of their immediate material interests has produced repudiation of legitimate obligations; but those days are, nationally speaking, I hope, gone by, and many of their merchants stand as high in the estimation of the commercial world as it is possible to desire. At the same time, it is equally true that the spirit of commercial gambling has risen to a point in the States, far above what it ever has in this country,—except, perhaps, during the Railway epidemic; and the number of failures is lamentably great.

With their intelligence they combine an enterprise that knows no national parallel. This quality, aided by their law of limited liability, has doubtless tended to urge forward many works and schemes from which the Union is deriving, and has derived, great wealth and advantage; at the same time it has opened the door for the unscrupulous and the shrewd to come in and play high stakes with small capital, in playing which reckless game, while some become millionaires

others become bankrupts. This latter state is a matter of comparative unimportance in a country like the Republic, where the field is so great, and a livelihood easily attainable until some opening occurs, when they are as ready to rush into it again as if they had been foaled at Niagara, and had sucked in the impetuosity of its cataract.

There is one shape that their enterprise takes which it would indeed be well for us to imitate, and that is early rising. I quite blush for my country when I think what a 'Castle of Indolence' we are in that respect, especially those who have not the slightest excuse for it. On what principle the classes of society in England who are masters of their own time, turn night into day, waste millions yearly in oil and wax, and sleep away the most fresh and healthy hours of the morning, for no other visible purpose but to enable themselves to pass the night in the most stuffy and unhealthy atmosphere, is beyond my comprehension. One thing is certain: it has a tendency to enervate both body and mind, and were it not for the revivifying effects produced by a winter residence in the country, where gentlemen take to field sports, and ladies to razeed dresses, sensible shoes, and constitutional walks, the mortality among our 'upper ten thousand' would, I believe, be frightful. In America, the 'boys' get up so early,

that it is said they frequently 'catch the birds by their tails as they are going to roost;' and it is no doubt owing to this that they are so 'cute. Talk about 'catching a weasel asleep,' let me see any of my metropolitan drone friends who can catch a Yankee boy asleep!

It is not, however, merely to early rising that they owe their 'cuteness. A total absence of idleness, and the fact of being constantly thrown on their own resources in cases of minor difficulty, aid materially in sharpening their wits. You may see these latter influences operating in the difference between soldiers and sailors, when placed in situations where they have to shift for themselves. Some of their anecdotes bearing upon 'cuteness are amusing enough. I will give one as an illustration.—Owing to some unknown cause there was a great dearth of eggs in one of the New England States, and they consequently rose considerably in price. It immediately occurred to a farmer's wife, that, if she could in any way increase the produce of her hens, it would be a source of great gain to her; she accordingly fitted the bottom of each laying hen's bed with a spring, and fixed a basin underneath, capable of holding two eggs. In due time, the hens laid; but as each hen, after laying, missed the warmth of the precious deposit, she got up to look if it was all right. To her astonishment

no egg was to be seen. 'Bless my soul!' says the hen, 'well, I declare I thought I had laid an egg. I suppose I must be mistaken;' and down she went to fulfil her duties again. Once more she rose to verify her success. No egg was there. 'Well, I vow,' quoth Mrs. Hen, 'they must be playing me some trick: I'll have one more shot, and, if I don't succeed, I shall give it up.' Again she returned to her labours, and the two eggs that had passed into the basin below supporting the base of her bed, success crowned her efforts, and she exclaimed, 'Well, I have done it this time at all events!' The 'cute wife kept her counsel, and said nothing, either to the hens or to her neighbours, and thus realized a comfortable little bag of dollars.—I give the anecdote as narrated to me, and I must confess I never saw the operation, or heard the remarks of the outwitted hens. I insert it lest in these days of agricultural distress (?) any farmer's wife be disposed to make a trial of a similar experiment.[a]

I proceed to consider the energy of the Republicans,

[a] While on the subject of eggs, I would ask my reader, did you ever, while eating the said article, find your patience sorely tried as each mouthful was being taken from its shell, and dipped carefully into the salt? If you have ever felt the inconvenience of this tedious process, let me suggest to you a

a quality in which they may challenge comparison with the world. No enterprise is too great for them to undertake, and no hardship too severe for them to endure. A Yankee will start off with his household gods, and seek a new home in the wilderness, with less fuss than a Cockney would make about packing up a basket of grub to go and pic-nic in Richmond Park. It is this spirit of adventure that has enabled them to cover a whole continent in the incredible manner which the map of the United States shows. The great drawback to this phase of their energy is the total absence it exhibits of those ties of home to which we so fondly cling in the old country. If we were a nation of Yankees, I feel persuaded that in five years we should not have ten millions of inhabitants. No Yankee can exist without elbow-room, except it be the more degraded and rowdy portion of the community, who find a more congenial atmosphere in those sinks of vice inseparable from large

simple remedy. After opening the egg, and taking out one spoonful, put in enough salt for the whole, and then on the top thereof pour a few drops of water; the saline liquid will pervade the whole nutritious substance, and thus render unnecessary those annoying transits above named, which make an egg as great a nuisance at the breakfast-table as a bore in society. Who first took out a patent for this dodge, I cannot say, but I suppose it must have been a New Englander.

towns. This migratory spirit has caused them to exhibit their energy and enterprise in those countless miles of rail and telegraph, which bring the citizens of the most distant States into easy communication with Washington and the Eastern cities. The difficulty of procuring labour is no doubt one cause of the very inefficient way in which many of these works are performed; and it also disables them for executing gigantic works with the speed and certainty that such operations are completed in England. The miniature Crystal Palace at New York afforded a convincing proof of what I have stated, for although it was little more than a quarter of the size of the one in Hyde Park, they were utterly foiled in their endeavours to prepare it in time. In revenge for that failure, the Press tried to console the natives by enlarging on the superior attractions of hippodromes, ice-saloons, and penny shows, with which it was surrounded, and contrasting them with the 'gloomy grandeur' of the palace in London. Gloomy grandeur is, I suppose, the Yankee way of expressing the finest park in any city in the world.

Among other remarks on Americans, I have heard many of my countrymen say, 'Look how they run after lords.'—It is quite true; a live lord is a comparative novelty, and they run after him in the same

way as people in England run after an Indian prince, or any pretentious Oriental; it is an Anglo-Saxon mania. Not very long ago, a friend of mine found a Syrian swaggering about town, *fêted* everywhere, as though he were the greatest man of the day; and who should the Syrian nabob turn out to be, but a man he had employed as a servant in the East, and whom he had been obliged to get bastinadoed for petty theft. In England we run after we know not who; in America, if a lord be run after, there is at all events a strong presumption in favour of his being at least a gentleman. We toady our Indian swells, and they toady their English swells; and I trust, for our sake, that in so doing they have a decided advantage over us.

I have also heard some of my countrymen observe as to their hospitality, 'Oh! it's all very well; but if you went there as often as I do, you would see how soon their hospitality wears off.' Who on earth ever heard such an unreasonable remark! Because a man, in the fulness of hospitality, dedicates his time, his money, and his convenience to welcome a stranger, of whose character and of whose sociability he knows nothing whatever, is he therefore bound to be saddled with that acquaintance as often as he chooses to visit the American Continent? Is not the very idea pre-

posterous? No man in the world is more ready to welcome the stranger than the American; but if the stranger revisit the same places, the courtesy and hospitality he receives must, in justice, depend upon the impression which his company has left on those upon whom he inflicted it. No doubt the scanty number of travellers enables Americans to exercise more universal hospitality than they could if the country were filled with strangers in the same way as Great Britain is. The increased travelling of late years has necessarily made a marked difference on that point among ourselves, and doubtless it may hereafter act upon the United States; but the man who does not admit hospitality to be a most distinctive feature of the Republic, at the present time, must indeed be rotten in the brain or the heart.

With regard to the political character of the Union, it is very much in the same state as that of England. The two original parties were Whig and Democrat, the former being synonymous with the Tory party in this country—*i. e.*, an honest body of men, who, in their earnest endeavours to keep the coach straight, put the drag on so often that the horses get restive sometimes, and start off at score when they feel the wheel clogged. The Democrats are more nearly represented by a compound of Whig and Radical—*i. e.*,

a body of men who, in their energetic exertions to make the coach go, don't trouble themselves much about the road, and look upon the drag as a piece of antiquated humbug. Sometimes this carelessness also leads to the team bolting; but in the States there is so much open country that they may run away for miles without an upset; whereas in England, when this difficulty occurs, the ribands are generally handed over to the Jarvey of the opposite party. This old state of affairs is entirely changed in both hemispheres; each party is more or less broken up, and in neither country is there at present any distinct body sufficiently numerous to form a strong government.

In consequence of these disruptions, it may be imagined how difficult it would be to give any accurate description of the different pieces of crockery that constitute the political 'service.' Formerly, the two cries of 'Protection to Home Manufacture' and 'Free-trade' were the distinct rallying points. At present there are Slaveholder, Slavery Extension, Free-soil, Abolitionist, Annexationist, and Heaven alone knows how many more parties, on the question of Slavery alone, into which the Democratic or dominant party is divided, independent of those other general political divisions which must necessarily exist

in so large and varied a community. From the foregoing you will observe that, to say a man is a Democrat, conveys no distinct idea of his politics except that he is not a Whig; and the Whigs also have their divisions on the Slave question.

But there is a party lately come into the field, and called the Know-nothings, which requires a special notice. Their ostensible principles have been published in the leading journals of this country, and carry a certain degree of reason upon the face of them, the leading features being that they are a secret society banded together for the purpose of opposing the priestly influence of the Romanists in political matters: for prolonging the period requisite to obtain the rights of citizenship; and for the support of the native-born American in opposition to all other candidates for any public situation that may be contested. Such is the substance of their manifesto. Their opponents say that they are sheer humbugs, and brought into life by a few old political hacks for their own selfish ends. Owing to the factions in the old Whig and Democratic parties, their opponents believe they may succeed for a year or two, but they prophesy their speedy and total disruption. Time will show—I am no prophet. There is one point in their charter, however, that I cannot believe will ever succeed—viz.

naturalization or citizenship. Congress would be loth to pass any law that might tend to turn the stream of emigration into another channel, such as Australia or Canada; and individual States would be equally loth to pass such a local law for the same reason, inasmuch as if they did, the emigrants would move on to those States where they obtained most speedily the rights of citizens. The crusade against the Romanists is also so opposed to the spirit of a constitution which professes the principle of the equal rights of man, that it is more than probable they may ere long divide upon the unsolvable question of how to draw the line of demarcation between the influence of the priest and the opinion of his flock. As far, therefore, as I am capable of judging, I do not believe they have a sufficiently broad and distinct basis to stand upon, and I think also that the fact of their being a secret society will rather hasten their end than otherwise.

The last point I shall allude to is the future prospects of the Republic; a question which doubtless is veiled in much obscurity. The black cloud of the South hangs perpetually over their heads, ever from time to time threatening to burst upon them. In the Free States many feel strongly the degradation of being forced to aid in the capture of the fugitive

slave; and the aversion to the repulsive task is increasing rather than decreasing. The citizens have on many occasions risen in masses against those who were executing the law, and the military have been brought into collision with them in defending the authorities. The dread of breaking up the Union alone prevents that clause being struck out from the Constitution, by which they are compelled not merely to restore but to hunt up the fugitive. The 'Free-soilers' also feel indignant at seeing their nation turning virgin soil into a land of Slavery; the Nebraska Bill has strengthened that feeling considerably. The Abolitionists are subject to constant fits of rabidity, which increase in intensity with each successive attack. Thousands and thousands of Northerns, who writhe under the feeling that their star-spangled banner is crossed with the stripes of the slave, turn back to the history of their country, and recalling to mind the glorious deeds that their ancestors have accomplished under that flag, their hearts respond—'The Union for ever!'

But perhaps the strongest feeling in the Republic which tends to keep things quiet, is that the intelligence of the community of the North, who are opposed both to slavery and to the fugitive law, foresee that if those objects are only to be obtained at the

price of separation from the South, greater evils would probably accrue than those they are anxious to remove. However peaceably a separation might be made in appearance, it could never take place without the most bitter feelings of animosity. Junius describes the intensity of the feeling, by saying, 'He hated me as much as if he had once been my friend;' and so it would assuredly prove. Squabbles would breed quarrels, and quarrels would grow into wars; the comparative harmony of a continent would be broken up, and standing armies and fleets become as necessary in the New World as they unfortunately are in the Old. If the South are determined, as the Nebraska decision would indicate, to perpetuate Slavery, the only way it will ever cease to stain the Union is by the force of public opinion, and by the immigration of the white man gradually driving the negro southwards from State to State. As his value decreases, breeding for the market will gradually cease; and he may eventually die out if the millennium does not interfere with the process.

Another possible cause for division in the Union may come from California, in which State a feeble cry has already been heard of—'a Western Republic.' The facility of intercourse afforded by railroads seems likely to stop the swelling of that cry; but if Cali-

fornia did separate, it would not be attended with those evils which a disruption of the Southern States would inevitably produce. The only other chance of a division in the Republic which I can conceive possible is, in the event of a long war with any great maritime power, for ends which only affected one particular portion of the States; in which case the irresistible influence of the all mighty dollar might come into powerful action. The wealth of America is her commerce; whatever checks that, checks the pulsations of her vitality; and unless her honour was thoroughly compromised in the struggle, neither North nor South would be disposed to prolong a ruinous struggle for the sole benefit of the other. The prospects of such a contingency may, I trust, be deemed visionary. France is not likely to come in contact with the Union; and the only other maritime nation is Great Britain, whose interests are so identified with peace, that it is hardly possible she should encourage any other than the most friendly relations. Neither party could gain anything by a war, and both parties would inevitably suffer immensely; and although I fear there is but too strong evidence, that many ignoble minds in the Republic make blustering speeches, and strive to excite hostile feelings, the real intelligence and wealth of the States repudiate

the unworthy sentiment, and deprecate any acts that could possibly lead to a collision between the two countries. Besides all which, there is that strong affinity between £. *s.* *d.* and $ and cts., whereby so strong an influence is exercised over that commercial body which constitutes no unimportant portion of the wealth and intelligence of both nations.

If the views I have taken be correct, it is indeed impossible to foreshadow the future of the United States; centuries must elapse ere it can become sufficiently peopled to test the adaptation of its present form of government to a thickly populated country; in the meantime, there seems scarcely a limit to her increase in wealth and prosperity. Her present gigantic stride among the nations of the world appears but an invisible atom, if compared with the boundless resources she encircles within her borders, not the least important of which is that mass of energy and intelligence she is, year by year, sowing broadcast throughout the length and breadth of the land, the Church and the school ever following in the train, and reproducing those elements to which she owes her present proud position.

My task is now done. I have endeavoured, in the preceding pages, to convey some general idea of the places I visited, and of the objects which appeared to

me most worthy of notice. I have touched but lightly on Cuba, and I have not dwelt at any great length on the prosperous and rising colony of Canada. My remarks have been chiefly on the United States, which, differing in so many points from the country of her birth, and occupying so conspicuous a place among the nations, presented the most extended field for observation and comment. I have on all occasions stated plainly the impressions produced upon my mind. I have freely remarked upon all those topics which, being public, I conceive to be the legitimate field for a traveller's criticism; where I have praised, or where I have condemned, I have equally endeavoured to explain my reasons. I have called attention to facts and opinions connected with my own country, where I thought similar points in the Republic might help to throw light upon them. Lastly, I have endeavoured to explain the various causes by which hostile feelings towards this country are engendered and spread abroad among a certain portion of the community; and I have stated my firm conviction, that the majority of the highest order of intelligence and character entertain a sincere desire to perpetuate our present friendly relations.

In conclusion, I would observe, that the opinions and feelings of a nation should not be hastily drawn

from the writings of a passing traveller, or from the casual leaders of a Free Press. Man is ever prone to find fault with his neighbour, because the so doing involves a latent claim to superior intelligence in himself; but a man may condemn many things in a nation, while holding the nation itself in high esteem. The world is a large society,—a traveller is but one of the company, who converses through the Press; and as, in the smaller circles, conversation would die or freeze if nothing were stated but what could be mathematically proved, so would volumes of travels come to an untimely end, if they never passed beyond the dull boundary of facts. In both cases, opinions are the life of conversation; because, as no two people agree, they provoke discussion, through the openings of which, as truth oozes out, wise men catch it, leaving the refuse to the unreflecting.

The late Lord Holland, who was equally remarkable for his kindness and his intelligence, is said to have observed, 'I never met a man so great a fool, but what I could learn something from him.' Reader, I am bound to confess his Lordship never met me; but I cannot take my leave without expressing a hope, that you will not be less fortunate than that amiable Peer.

And now, farewell, thou Giant Republic! I have

long since left thy shores; but I have brought with me, and fondly cherish, the recollection of the many pleasant days I spent within thy borders, and of all those friends whose unceasing hospitality and kindness tracked my path without intermission. I care not for Filibusteros and Russian sympathizers; I know that the heart of the intelligence of thy people beats with friendly pulsations, to which that of my own countrymen readily responds. All we should, and I trust all we do, mutually desire, is, to encourage an honourable and increasing rivalry in arts, science, commerce,[a] and good-will. He who would disturb our amicable relations, be he Briton or American, is unworthy of the name of a man; for he is a foe to Liberty—Humanity—and Christianity.

[a] Vide *Appendix F*, Tabular Comparison.

# APPENDIX.

## A. (p. 14.)

### *Judge Edmonds' Letter.*

'ON my recent return from an excursion into the country, I found that during my absence a decision lately pronounced by me had been seized upon as an occasion for an attack, in several quarters, on my religious belief. I was fully aware that that judgment, running counter as it would to popular sentiment, would subject my action to severe criticism; but I confess I did not anticipate that thence would flow an assault upon my religious opinions. Were I a private citizen I should content myself with merely claiming the right which belongs to every one in this country, of entertaining such faith on this—the most important of all topics—as my conscience might dictate. And as it is, I might perhaps rest satisfied with challenging those who assail me to point out a single article in my creed that aims at aught else than exalted private worth and public virtue. But as the position which I occupy renders the soundness as well as the integrity of my judgment a matter of public interest, I am bound to acknowledge the right of

others to question my faith, and my own obligation to defend it.

'I acknowledge a still further obligation. And inasmuch as I accepted my present position under the implied understanding, at least, that I believed in the Christian religion, and would administer our civil law according to the principles of the Divine law as it had been revealed to us, on which all our institutions were based, so I am bound to certify to those who have intrusted me with the divine attribute of ministering justice among men that my reverence for that revelation has not been shaken, nor my obedience to that moral law impaired.

'I have not, however, waited for these assaults to be impressed with these obligations, but have already so far felt them, that I have prepared to publish a volume on the subject, which, but for my other vocations, would ere this have been in the printer's hands. To that I must refer for much in elucidation and proof of my belief, which the limits of this communication will not allow me to dwell upon, and content myself on this occasion with such general statements as may tend to give a correct idea of what it is that I believe or have done. Even this would not have been necessary, if those who assail me had but done me the justice themselves to have published anything I have said or written on the subject. But hitherto I have been able to reach the public only through publications of very limited circulation, and the wildest and most erroneous notions have therefore been imbibed as to my belief, and the mischief has been increased by the recklessness with which erroneous statements have

been fabricated by those who could not know them to be true, but who could easily have ascertained them to be false.

'Thus one writer,[a] with a want of feeling, not perhaps surprising, speaks of my consulting my dead wife in making up my decisions. Another says that it is rumoured' that I have consulted spirit manifestations in regard to my decisions. Another, that my belief is 'at 'irreconcilable variance with all divine revelation, and is fit for no other system than devil worship;' and still another, that 'it constitutes an abandonment of all self-control, and a surrender of the supremacy of reason, as informed and enlightened by the senses, to the most nonsensical jugglery.'

'All these statements are as wide as they can be of truth, and I might with some justice complain at being subjected to such grievous imputations, merely because I had made a decision which was unacceptable to a portion of the community. But it is not for the purpose of complaining that I sit down to write. I am aware that it is not so much me, as it is the faith which I profess, which is the object of attack. It is 'the mighty theme, and not the inconsiderable advocate,' which offends. I am also aware why it is that so much error exists in the public mind on that subject; and my whole purpose is, so far as I am concerned, to correct that error; to state truly, as far as I can in this connexion, what it is that I do believe, and generally the grounds on which my belief is founded, that all who take interest

[a] *Daily Chronicle* of New London.

enough in the matter to read what I may say, may have the means of judging for themselves as to what I really do believe, rather than what others erroneously impute to me as a belief.

'I am sincerely grateful to my assailants for not imputing to me any unworthy or selfish motives, for conceding that, as a private citizen, I 'stand exempt from public criticism,' and that I am 'not a fool,' and for confining themselves to the mere imputation, that I am labouring under a delusion. It is, therefore, to that point I shall confine myself in what I have now to say.

'It was in January, 1851, that my attention was first called to the subject of 'Spiritual Intercourse.' I was at the time withdrawn from general society; I was labouring under great depression of spirits. I was occupying all my leisure in reading on the subject of death, and man's existence afterward. I had in the course of my life read, and heard from the pulpit, so many contradictory and conflicting doctrines on the subject, that I hardly knew what to believe. I could not, if I would, believe what I did not understand, and was anxiously seeking to know, if after death we should again meet with those whom we had loved here, and under what circumstances. I was invited by a friend to witness the 'Rochester Knockings.' I complied, more to oblige her and to while away a tedious hour. I thought a good deal on what I witnessed, and I determined to investigate the matter and find out what it was. If it was a deception or a delusion, I thought that I could detect it. For about four months I devoted at least two evenings in a week, and sometimes more, to witnessing the phenomena in all

its phases. I kept careful records of all I witnessed, and from time to time compared them with each other, to detect inconsistencies and contradictions. I read all I could lay my hands on on the subject, and especially all the professed 'exposures of the humbug.' I went from place to place, seeing different mediums, meeting with different parties of persons, often with persons I had never seen before, and sometimes where I was myself entirely unknown—sometimes in the dark and sometimes in the light—often with inveterate unbelievers, and more frequently with zealous believers. In fine, I availed myself of every opportunity that was afforded, thoroughly to sift the matter to the bottom. I was all this time an unbeliever, and tried the patience of believers sorely by my scepticism, my captiousness, and my obdurate refusal to yield my belief. I saw around me some who yielded a ready faith on one or two sittings only; others again, under the same circumstances, avowing a determined unbelief; and some who refused to witness it at all, and yet were confirmed unbelievers. I could not imitate either of these parties, and refused to yield unless upon most irrefragable testimony. At length the evidence came, and in such force that no sane man could withhold his faith.

'Thus far, the question I was investigating was, whether what I saw was produced by mere mortal means, or by some invisible unknown agency; in other words, whether it was a deception, an imposition, or what it professed to be—the product of some unknown, unseen cause. To detail what I witnessed would far exceed the limits of this communication, for my records of it for those four months alone, fill at least 130 closely written pages. I

will, however, mention a few things, which will give a general idea of that which characterized interviews, now numbering several hundred. Most of them have occurred in the presence of others besides myself. I have preserved their names in my records, but do not give them to the world, because I do not desire to subject them to the obloquy which seems most strangely to be visited upon all who look into the matter with any other feeling than a resolute and obstinate incredulity, whatever the evidence. But these considerations grow out of this fact: 1st, that I have thus very many witnesses, whom I can invoke to establish the truth of my statements; and 2nd, that if I have been deluded, and have not seen and heard what I think I have, my delusion has been shared by many as shrewd, as intelligent, as honest, and as enlightened people as are to be found anywhere among us.

'My attention was first drawn to the intercourse by the rappings, then the most common, but now the most inconsiderable, mode of communing. Of course, I was on the look-out for deception, and at first relied upon my senses and the conclusions which my reason might draw from their evidence. But I was at a loss to tell how the mediums could cause what I witnessed under these circumstances.—The mediums walking the length of a suite of parlours, forty or fifty feet, and the rappings being distinctly heard five or six feet behind them, the whole distance backward and forward several times; being heard near the top of a mahogany door, above where the medium could reach, and as if struck hard with a fist; being heard on the bottom of a car when travelling on a railroad, and on the floor and the table when seated at lunch, at an

eating-house by the side of the road; being heard at different parts of the room, sometimes several feet distant from the medium, and where she could not reach—sometimes on the table, and immediately after on the floor, and then at different parts of the table in rapid succession, enabling us to feel the vibration as well as hear the sounds; sometimes, when the hands and feet of the medium were both firmly and carefully held by some one of the party, and sometimes on a table when no one touched it.

'After depending upon my senses as to these various phases of the phenomenon, I invoked the aid of science; and, with the assistance of an accomplished electrician and his machinery, and eight or ten intelligent, educated, shrewd persons, examined the matter. We pursued our inquiries many days, and established to our satisfaction two things: First, that the sounds were not produced by the agency of any person present or near us; and second, that they were not forthcoming at our will and pleasure.

'In the meantime, another feature attracted my attention, and that was 'physical manifestations,' as they are termed. Thus, I have known a pine table with four legs lifted bodily up from the floor, in the centre of a circle of six or eight persons, turned upside down and laid upon its top at our feet, then lifted up over our heads, and put leaning against the back of the sofa on which we sat. I have known that same table to be tilted up on two legs, its top at an angle with the floor of forty-five degrees, when it neither fell over of itself, nor could any person present put it back on its four legs. I have seen a mahogany table, having only a centre leg, and

with a lamp burning upon it, lifted from the floor at least a foot, in spite of the efforts of those present, and shaken backward and forward as one would shake a goblet in his hand, and the lamp retain its place, though its glass pendants rang again. I have seen the same table tipped up with the lamp upon it, so far that the lamp must have fallen off unless retained there by something else than its own gravity, yet it fell not, moved not. I have known a dinner-bell, taken from a high shelf in a closet, rung over the heads of four or five persons in that closet, then rung around the room over the heads of twelve or fifteen persons in the back parlour, and then borne through the folding doors to the farther end of the front parlour, and there dropped on the floor. I have frequently known persons pulled about with a force which it was impossible for them to resist, and once, when all my own strength was added in vain to that of the one thus affected. I have known a mahogany chair thrown on its side and moved swiftly back and forth on the floor, no one touching it, through a room where there were at least a dozen people sitting, yet no one was touched, and it was repeatedly stopped within a few inches of me, when it was coming with a violence which, if not arrested, must have broken my legs.

'This is not a tithe—nay, not a hundredth part—of what I have witnessed of the same character, but it is enough to show the general nature of what was before me.

'At the same time, I have heard from others whose testimony would be credited in any human transaction, and which I could not permit myself to disregard,

accounts of still more extraordinary transactions, for I have been by no means as much favoured in this respect as some.

'While these things were going on, there appeared in the newspapers various explanations and 'exposures of the humbug,' as they were termed. I read them with care, in the expectation of being assisted in my researches, and I could not but smile at once at the rashness and the futility of the explanations. For instance, while certain learned professors in Buffalo were congratulating themselves on having detected it in the toe and knee-joints, the manifestations in this city changed to ringing a bell placed under the table. They were like the solution lately given by a learned professor in England, who attributes the tipping of tables to a force in the hands which are laid upon it, overlooking the material fact that tables quite as frequently move when there is no hand upon them.

'What I have thus mentioned has happened in the presence of others as well as myself. I have not alluded to any of the things which have occurred to me when I have been alone, for as that would depend upon my testimony only, I have preferred not to subject my veracity to the rash and reckless contradictions of those who venture to denounce as an 'atrocious imposture' that of which they are profoundly ignorant, and which has been examined and is believed in by thousands and tens of thousands of their fellow-citizens, who are, to say the least, every whit as honest and as intelligent as they are. Nor am I very anxious to submit my faith to the judgment of those who would have persecuted Galileo nigh

unto death for discovering our planetary system, and have united in the cry of 'folly' at Fulton's steamboat, 'humbug' at Morse's telegraph, and 'insanity' at Gray's iron road.

'Having thus, by a long series of patient inquiries, satisfied myself on this point, my next inquiry was, whence comes the intelligence there is behind it all? For that intelligence was a remarkable feature of the phenomenon.

'Thus I have frequently known mental questions answered—that is, questions merely framed in the mind of the interrogator, and not revealed by him or known to others. Preparatory to meeting a circle, I have sat down alone in my room and carefully prepared a series of questions to be propounded, and I have been surprised to find my questions answered, and in the precise order in which I wrote them, without my even taking my memorandum out of my pocket, and when I knew that not a person present even knew that I had prepared questions, much less what they were. My most secret thoughts, those which I have never uttered to mortal man or woman, have been freely spoken to as if I had uttered them. Purposes which I have privily entertained have been publicly revealed; and I have once and again been admonished that my every thought was known to, and could be disclosed by, the intelligence which was thus manifesting itself.

'I have heard the mediums use Greek, Latin, Spanish, and French words, when I knew they had no knowledge of any language but their own, and it is a fact that can be attested by many, that often there has been speaking

and writing in foreign languages and unknown tongues by those who were unacquainted with either.

'Still the question occurred, may not all this have been by some mysterious operation, the mere reflex of the mind of some one present? The answer was, that facts were communicated which were unknown then, but afterward found to be true; like this, for instance, when I was absent last winter in Central America, my friends in town heard of my whereabouts and of the state of my health seven times, and on my return, by comparing their information with the entries in my journal, it was found to be invariably correct. So in my recent visit to the West, my whereabouts and my condition were told to a medium in this city while I was travelling on the rail-road between Cleveland and Toledo. So thoughts have been uttered on subjects not then in my mind, and utterly at variance with my own notions. This has often happened to me and to others, so as fully to establish the fact that it was not our minds that gave birth to or affected the communication.

'Kindred to this are two well authenticated cases of persons who can read the thoughts of others in their minds. One is an artist of this city, of high reputation, and the other the editor of a newspaper in a neighbouring city. The latter wrote me that, in company with three friends, he had tried the experiment, and for over forty successive attempts found he could read the secret thoughts of his companions as soon as they were formed, and without their being uttered. So, too, there is the instance of two persons, one of them also a resident in this city, who can give a faithful delineation of the

character and even the prevailing mood of mind of any person, however unknown to them, upon whom they fix their attention.

'These are not apocryphal cases. The parties are at hand, and in our very midst; and any person that pleases may make the investigation, as I have, and satisfy himself.

'But all this, and much, very much more of a cognate nature went to show me that there was a high order of intelligence involved in this new phenomenon—an intelligence outside of and beyond mere mortal agency; for there was no other hypothesis which I could devise or hear of that could at all explain that, whose reality is established by the testimony of tens of thousands, and can easily be ascertained by any one who will take the trouble to inquire.

'If these two points were established—and there are now in these United States hundreds of thousands of sentient beings who have investigated and believe they are—then came this important question, *Cui bono?* To what end is it all? For what purpose? With what object?

'To that inquiry I have directed my earnest attention, devoting to the task for over two years all the leisure I could command, and increasing that leisure as far as I could by withdrawing myself from all my former recreations. I have gone from circle to circle, from medium to medium, seeking knowledge on the subject wherever I could obtain it, either from books or from observation, and bringing to bear upon it whatever of intelligence I have been gifted with by nature, sharpened and improved by over thirty years' practice at the bar, in the legislature, and on the bench.

I found there were many ways in which this unseen intelligence communed with us, besides the rappings and table-tippings, and that through those other modes there came very many communications distinguished for their eloquence, their high order of intellect, and their pure and lofty moral tone; at the same time I discovered many inconsistencies and contradictions that were calculated to mislead. I saw many puerile and some very absurd statements, and many that were admirably calculated to make men better and happier, and I set to work to see if I could not out of this chaos gather something that might be valuable.

'I was satisfied that something more was intended than the gratification of an idle curiosity; something more than pandering to a diseased appetite for the marvellous; something more than the promulgation of oracular platitudes; something more than upsetting material objects to the admiration of the wonder-lover; something more than telling the age of the living or the dead, &c.

'For that something I have industriously searched. I thought that was wiser than to condemn without investigation, and denounce without knowledge. What I have discovered in that regard I have intended to give to the world, that all may judge for themselves whether there is anything in it worthy the attention of intelligent beings. It would have been done ere this if my leisure would have allowed me time to prepare my manuscript for the press. Now I expect that my book will be published by the 1st of September, and to that I refer, as I have already said, for particulars.

'In the meantime, it is due to myself and to others to

say, that our faith, as growing out of these researches, is not 'at irreconcilable variance with revelation.' How little do they, who make such charges, know of this matter! Misled by the credulities which alone are seen in the newspapers of the day, because the graver matters cannot find admission there, the idea is, I am aware, entertained by some that this new philosophy is at variance with the revelation through Christ, the Redeemer. This is, indeed, a sad mistake, and one that believers would be too happy to correct, if only the opportunity could be afforded them.

'So, too, is it a grievous error to suppose that it 'constitutes an abandonment of all self-control, and a surrender of the supremacy of reason, as informed and enlightened by the senses.' There was never yet, I venture to say, a religious creed promulgated among men which so entirely eschewed blind faith and so fully and always demanded the exercise of the judgment and the supremacy of the reason.

'Hence it is that we are taught that none of these extraordinary things which are witnessed by so many are miraculous, or flow from any suspension of nature's laws, but are, on the other hand, in conformity with and in execution of those laws; that, like the steam-engine and the magnetic telegraph, they are marvellous only to those who do not understand them, or are not familiar with them; that those laws, and the means by which they produce such results, are as capable of being found out by human research; that the knowledge is not confined to a few, but is open to all, rich or poor, high or low, wise or ignorant, who will wisely and patiently

search for it, and that, when it is attained, it cannot but work in the heart 'a closer walk with God,' and an intercourse with our fellow men of a more elevated character, void of selfishness, and devoted to their absolute advancement in all knowledge and goodness, both in this world and in the world to come.

'This is a part of the something which I have found in my researches. But there is more yet. There is that which comforts the mourner and binds up the broken-hearted—that which smooths the passage to the grave and robs death of its terrors—that which enlightens the atheist, and cannot but reform the vicious—that which cheers and encourages the virtuous amid all the trials and vicissitudes of life—and that which demonstrates to man his duty and his destiny, leaving it no longer vague and uncertain. What that is I cannot in the limits of this letter explain, but in due time it will be forthcoming, and each one can judge for himself.

'But, now, may I not ask if I overrate the importance of the subject of my inquiries? Scarcely more than four years have elapsed since the 'Rochester Knockings' were first known among us. Then mediums could be counted by units, but now by thousands—then believers could be numbered by hundreds, now by tens of thousands. It is believed by the best informed, that the whole number in the United States must be several hundred thousands, and that in this city and its vicinity there must be from 25,000 to 30,000. There are ten or twelve newspapers and periodicals devoted to the cause, and the *Spiritual Library* embraces more than 100 different publications, some of which have attained a circulation of more than

10,000 copies. Besides the undistinguished multitude there are many men of high standing and talent ranked among them—doctors, lawyers, and clergymen in great numbers, a Protestant bishop, the learned and reverend president of a college, judges of our higher courts, members of Congress, foreign ambassadors, and ex-members of the United States Senate.

'That which has thus spread with such marvellous celerity, in spite of the ridicule which has deterred so many from an open avowal—that which has attracted the attention of so many of the best minds among us—cannot be unworthy of my investigation, or that of persons far wiser and more reliable than I am.

'It is now more than a year that my peculiar faith has been the subject of public comment. During it all I have been silent as to those attacks, content steadily to pursue my investigations until I could arrive at satisfactory results. Perhaps I have been silent too long, for in the meantime very erroneous notions as to that faith have been allowed to spring up. But I was unwilling to speak until I was as sure as I could be that I was right, lest I might utter some crudity which by and by I might regret, or commit some error which I might find it difficult to correct, or, in fine, unhappily mislead in my ignorance, rather than wisely guide by my knowledge.

'I went into the investigation, originally thinking it a deception, and intending to make public my exposure of it. Having, from my researches, come to a different conclusion, I feel that the obligation to make known the result is just as strong. Therefore it is, mainly, that I give the result to the world. I say mainly, because there

is another consideration which influences me, and that is, the desire to extend to others a knowledge which I am conscious cannot but make them happier and better.

'If those who doubt this could but spend a few days with me in my library, and witness the calls I have from strangers from all parts of the country; if they could but look over my portfolio, and read the letters which pour in upon me from all sections, and from persons whom I have never seen and never may see, they would be able, from the evidence thus furnished of the good that has been done, to form some idea of what may yet be accomplished, and they would not wonder that I find a compensation for the obloquy that is so freely heaped upon me by the ignorant, in the grateful outpourings of hearts which have, by my means, been relieved. One of them says—and it is a fair specimen of the whole—'You have acted the part of the good Samaritan, and poured oil into the wound of one like to die, and you will have rendered a deathbed, sooner or later, calm and hopeful, which might have been disturbed by doubts.'

'This, then, is the offence for which I have been arraigned at the bar of the public with so unsparing a condemnation, declared unworthy of my high office, falsely accused of consulting aught else than the law of the land, and my own reason, in the judgments which I officially pronounce, and have had invoked against me 'the fires of Smithfield and the hangings of Salem.' From such a condemnation it is that I appeal to the calm, unbiassed judgment of my countrymen, with a firm reliance upon its justice.

'J. W. EDMONDS.

'New York, August 1, 1853.'

## B. (p. 218.)

### *Miss M'Intosh's Letter.*

(BY THE EDITOR OF THE 'NEW YORK OBSERVER.')

'WE have devoted several columns of our paper this week to a letter by Miss M'Intosh on the Address of the Women of England to their Sisters of America in relation to Slavery. Miss M. is the well-known author of numerous literary works, which have been extensively read with high approbation both in England and America. She is a native of Georgia, and although her home is now in New York, she resided for more than thirty years at the South, and is intimately acquainted in the families of many of the most wealthy and respectable slaveholders in that section of the Union.

'Miss M'Intosh is a descendant of the Scottish Highlanders, who came over from Great Britain, with General Oglethorpe, more than 120 years ago, to found the colony of Georgia. They founded it, as our readers well know, on the anti-slavery principle. General Oglethorpe with the Highlanders and German Protestants, who constituted the majority of the first settlers, were firmly and unanimously opposed, both on political and religious grounds, to the introduction of slaves into the colony. If their plan had been accomplished, slavery in this country would

have been limited by Mason and Dixon's line on the north, and the Savannah river on the South; and more than half the territory now cultivated by slaves in the United States would have been from the beginning 'free soil.' Indeed, the whole would now be 'free soil;' for without cotton-growing and sugar-growing States as markets for their slaves, slavery would long ere this have died a natural death in Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky.

'What prevented the accomplishment of this noble Anti-Slavery project of the first settlers of Georgia? English slave-traders, who cared only for their own pecuniary gain, operating partly by direct influence on the government at home, and partly through their indolent countrymen in the colony, the London paupers settled near Savannah, succeeded in procuring the abolition of all anti-slavery restrictions, and these merchants then filled the markets of Georgia with miserable heathen from Africa, the victims of their avarice and cruelty. The Highlanders and Germans persisted to the last in their opposition to this great wickedness, but in vain. The negroes were admitted, and, when once admitted, the planters were compelled to employ them, for they could get no other labourers.

'The descendants of these Highlanders and Germans are now wealthy slaveholders, scattered over all the country between the Savannah river and the farthest limits of Arkansas and Texas. They inherit the religious principles of their fathers. They have the Bible, and love to read it. They go to that blessed book, and not to Northern men or Englishmen, to Northern ladies or

English ladies, to learn their duties to their slaves. They do not find in any part of that book the doctrine of the immediate abolitionists. They find there that the slave is a man and a brother; that God made him; that God loves him; that Christ died for him; and that God will not bless, and Christ will not love, the master who does not love his slave, or the slave who does not love and obey his master. With this simple teaching, and withdrawing themselves, as the Apostle directs, from those who teach otherwise, they have been labouring quietly and unostentatiously, amidst all the discouragements caused by the curse of slavery on one side, and the agitations of abolitionists on the other, to establish schools and churches, and to fit the negro for the enjoyment of all the happiness of which he is capable here and hereafter; and with such success, that they and their co-labourers count, as one of the fruits of their toil, more than 300,000 negro members of evangelical churches—a greater number, as has been frequently stated, than the aggregate number in all the churches under Protestant missionaries in all the countries of the heathen world.

'Miss M'Intosh is the fit representative of that numerous band of self-appointed missionaries under whose labours so many of these poor negroes have become joyful disciples of Jesus Christ. She is the great grand-daughter of John Moore M'Intosh, who was the leader of the Highlanders when they protested in 1738 against the introduction of slavery into Georgia; and she is a cousin of Mrs. Wilson, the wife of the Rev. John L. Wilson, to whom we referred in our paper of the 31st ult., as having emancipated her slaves, and accompanied them with her

husband from South Carolina to Africa, to preach the Gospel to the natives of that dark land. Did the ladies at Stafford House know that such women are produced in the midst of American slavery? Did they know that there is not in any country on the earth, among the higher classes, a body of Christians more distinguished for generous self-sacrifice, and for all the noble graces of the Christian character, than the truly Christian slaveholders of the Southern States in America! When they learn this, those ladies will surely feel how unbecoming it was in them to issue, with so much parade, an address, which assumes that it is necessary for English women to teach the American people, and especially our Southern people, the first principles of their duty towards God and man.

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## LETTER.

'TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'NEW YORK OBSERVER.'

'SIR:—I read a few weeks since in your valuable paper, with some pain, an article commenting on a letter from the Earl of Shaftesbury to the Editor of the London *Times*, in which you seemed to give an unqualified approval to the answers addressed by some of our countrywomen to the Duchess of Sutherland, and the other ladies of England, who had appealed to their Christian sympathies in behalf of the slave. I cannot better evince my confidence in your Christian magnanimity than in venturing to ask permission to avail myself of the prestige of your paper in presenting views differing somewhat, it

may be, from your own. Mistaken and injudicious as I consider the action of these ladies of England, in urging on the women of America responsibilities which it would have been fatuity in them to overlook, and duties which it would have been heathenism in them to neglect, no less mistaken and injudicious seems to me the manner in which that appeal has been answered. These answers have proceeded, I believe, from northern women only, who might well have held themselves untouched by this controversy. They could have been dictated by no selfish motive, therefore, but solely by generous sympathy for their southern sisters—a motive which claims more than indulgence—admiration and respect. In their own cause, sir, I doubt not these ladies would themselves have thought as I do, that if a reply was made at all, it would be more consistent with the dignity of Christian gentlewomen to make it in the spirit of that charity which 'hopeth all things, believeth all things, endureth all things,' than in the proud vindictiveness of wounded self-love, to give back railing for railing.

I have said that the action of the ladies of England was mistaken; yet it was a mistake which we can readily forgive, I think, when we recollect the influence under which it was made. Genius, which might well have been satisfied with the triumphs it was capable of achieving in a legitimate field, had stooped to pander to the passions of the multitude, by clothing fiction in the garb of truth, and teaching her to utter her aspersions in the accents of this daughter of the skies. Had the power which thus maligned us been the product of a foreign soil, it might have been mistrusted; but how could honour-

able women believe that a woman would, without provocation, blacken with infamy the land of her birth, unless the dearer interests of truth had forced her to the painful task? And can we wonder that if these aspersions were believed, all prudential considerations should have been forgotten! Ought we not rather to admire the forbearance of these ladies of England, supposing such belief to have been theirs, in that there escaped them not the indignant utterance of horror and disgust, but the gentle appeal of Christian charity? For my own part, I feel and acknowledge my obligation to them for the liberality which could still believe us not wholly dead to human sympathies, which could still hope to rouse us to the exercise of humanity. Urged by this obligation, and desiring to relieve them from the pain which every Christian heart must feel in entertaining condemnatory opinions of those holding like precious faith with themselves, I would say, 'Believe not that the old English nature has lost any of its noble attributes in the air of America. Here, as with you, it still hates oppression and sickens at cruelty. Woman, here, has not forgotten her office of comforter.' I would say to them, 'We accept your sympathy, noble sisters, and offer you our own under those heavy responsibilities which you too have to bear. With such responsibilities, well may you bless God that you are exempted from that burden which your fathers laid upon us. And yet,' I would add, 'count it not heavier than it is; think of it not with the vague terror with which we strive in vain to grasp the proportions and struggle with the power of an oppressive nightmare; but look at it rather with the sharpened faculties, and

the fuller consciousness, and the quieter self-possession with which danger ever endows a magnanimous spirit.' Looking at it thus, you will see a race of people brought hither, not, as romance would teach, from the enjoyment of the dear ties of home, from a life of freedom and of simple pleasures; but from a condition the lowest to which humanity could sink—nay, distinguished from that of the brutes, only as the semblance of the human form excited a deeper disgust, by its suggestion of contrast. This people you would see now wearing in their features more of the aspect of humanity, and exhibiting in their habits far more of the decencies of life. You would see them dwelling in homes, poor indeed, but not wholly comfortless, surrounded often by families whom they love, and with whom they live and die. Yet more, you would find that the moral sentiment has been awakened in their souls, that they feel themselves accountable to the Great Father of all, and that they whose fathers trembled at the Fetich and adored the Devil, now bow at the name of Christ, and adore the Lord of heaven and earth with a simplicity, and an earnestness of faith, which no philosophy can teach.

We claim not that we or our fathers have done for them all that we ought—we acknowledge that more, far more might and should have been done; but this is something not wholly without value, and this God in his providence hath wrought for them—and this and more—more which a few favoured ones have gained—they are now bearing back to throw a little light on their native Africa, still sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death.

'But you reproach us, sisters—gently, very gently, I

acknowledge—still you reproach us that they cannot read for themselves the word of life—nay, that we submit to laws which have forbidden us to give them this estimable power; and we cannot deny it; but let us look well at this too, and perchance it may appear less black a wrong in us than at first it seems.

'Many years ago a faint light appeared in the dark sky which had hitherto overshadowed this devoted race; a light which we hoped would prove the dawn of a quick-rising and brilliant day. An influence, silent, irresistible, coming like the wind of heaven we knew not whence, stirred many hearts and awakened many noble minds at the south to the great work of the south, the work which it has yet to do; the instruction and fuller evangelization of those whom God has committed to their keeping. Suddenly, plantation schools were established for children and adults, and plantation chapels erected where instruction should be given better adapted to their untutored minds than the church services on which they had been accustomed to depend. You, noble ladies, who know how slowly the wisest reforms win general consent even in enlightened England, will readily understand how much difficulty the pioneers in this noble work had to encounter; but they went on undismayed, and God seemed to be with them. He was with them, for the good seed then sown has never been wholly uprooted;—but, alas! the enemy was active too, and sowed tares with the wheat.

'While slowly, but surely, the strongest prejudices were giving way before the quiet but steady onset of truth, at the south; in the northern part of our land there arose

an association of men, to whom I will allude no farther than to say that, by publishing works of the most inflammatory character, addressing the planters of the south with the bitterest denunciation, and calling on their slaves to free themselves from their tyranny, even though they should do it by the infliction of horrors on which I will not dwell; and by sending those publications to those by whom they supposed their contents would be communicated to the slaves, they deeply injured the cause they sought to serve. The pamphlets were sent to free blacks in the city of Savannah, preachers of the gospel of peace. Deeply shocked themselves at their contents, they placed them in the hands of the city council, by which they were forwarded to the state legislature, then holding its annual session. The result was the law forbidding, on penalty of a heavy fine and imprisonment, that the blacks be taught to read or write —an unwise law, as we believe, but scarcely unnatural under these circumstances.

'The true friends of the slave were grieved but not despairing, cast down but not destroyed. The law, which they felt themselves bound to obey, made the task of enlightening the darkened minds around them far more difficult, but still by no means impracticable. To teach the slaves to read, and place Bibles in their hands, would have been an easy thing compared with becoming themselves the media through which all acquaintance with that sacred word must be obtained. But they shrank not from this difficult task. 'Men of thought, and men of action,' women of cultivation and refinement, who were fitted to enjoy and to adorn society, remodelled their

plans of life, feeling that whatever else was neglected, this must be done. From the schools, which were still continued, some of the books that had been in use vanished, but the Bible remained, and so interesting did the *vivâ voce* lessons become, that we doubt whether many of the pupils were conscious of the change in the mode of teaching. This change was not the greatest evil resulting from the apprehension in which the law had originated. The influence which the friends of the slave were acquiring over public sentiment, the waking up of dormant consciences under the silent rebuke of their example, was checked. People cried, 'See the effect of innovation!' and returned contentedly to their long sleep.

'I may not hope, in the short space of such an article as this, to convey any just idea of the persevering efforts for the advancement of the slave made by this devoted band of Christian men and women at the south. They have borne obloquy and contempt from men because they would not set all human law at defiance, or yield the judgments formed on the sure basis of experience to the wild schemes of the theorist. For this obloquy and contempt, as far as it regarded themselves only, they have cared little. It was a light thing to them to be judged of man's judgment. On the panoply of the Christian hero, the shafts of ridicule and the heavier blows of hate fall alike harmless. But that which was of little importance to them personally, has been felt as a grievous ill for its influence on the cause to which they had devoted themselves. Every unjust accusation, every bitter and insulting word uttered against the south,

in England, or in the Northern United States, has tended to harden the hearts they were seeking to soften, and to add to the prejudices which present an insuperable barrier to the attainment of their heart's desire and prayer; the elevation and gradual emancipation of the slave.

'Think not that I have exaggerated the interest or the action of the south on this subject. I have, indeed, not told you the half. Were it not my design to confine myself strictly to the subjects of your letter, I could prove to you by well-authenticated statistics that the south, in proportion to its wealth and population, has given more, and done more for the cause of African emancipation, than England and the Northern United States combined. And against the examples of individual debasement and cruelty, so industriously sought out by our enemies, I might set examples of such self-devotion as would compel the admiration of the world, and cast your own noble Wilberforce and Clarkson into the shade. I could show you delicately-nurtured and accomplished women and men of education, who have not only liberated their slaves, and sent them at their own expense to Africa, but, having thus given to the good cause all they had, have added to that gift themselves; having accompanied their people, shared their dangers, and laboured now for nearly thirty years as African missionaries.

'But I turn to another and not less interesting subject, against which you have expressed yourself with faithful, and I am ready to believe not unchristian rebuke—the relation of marriage among the slaves, and the little regard which their family ties obtain among those who

are the rulers of their earthly destinies. For the slight consideration which the slaves themselves attach to the sacred relation of marriage, I can only say that they are in this little, if any, worse than the ignorant in even your own favoured land. To multiply proof of this from your own police reports would be easy, if it were not uselessly occupying both your time and mine. One instance is placed before me even as I write, to which I refer, not because of its greater appositeness to my purpose, but simply because it is at hand. I derive it from a well-known American Magazine—*Littell's Living Age*—into which it was copied from an English paper—the *Stamford Mercury*. It purports to be a report of a trial, occurring before magistrates in Birmingham, of a man for an assault upon his wife. The miserable woman testifies that her husband does not live with her, having '*leased*' himself to another woman—I use the language of the report. Further investigation ensues, and a lease of this, I trust, *singular* character, is actually introduced into court and sworn to as having been drawn up by a lawyer whose name is given, and who, it is asserted, received for it a fee of £1 15*s*.

'But surely it needs neither repeated examples nor elaborate argument to prove that even in a far more refined condition than that of the plantation slave, the influence of Christian principle is needed to make marriage what God intended it should be.

'But you accuse us—wo to us if you accuse us justly!—of having fostered this disregard in the slave by showing little respect ourselves to his family ties. We have been represented to the world as tearing without remorse the

wife from the husband, the mother from the child. This has been so often asserted—it has gone forth to the world indorsed by names so fair and so generally reliable—that we can scarcely hope to be believed when we affirm that such cruelty would be met by as fierce an indignation, as unmitigated an abhorrence, in the Southern United States as in any part of the world; that the scenes depicted in the well-woven fiction, which has not only aroused the sympathy and excited the compassion of thousands, but has given impulse to a course of action that threatens to excite national resentment, sunder national amity, and thus, it may be, to change the political aspects of the world, if they have ever occurred, are but the few and rare exceptions in the history of slavery here—proofs of individual, not of national, guilt.

'As I think of the unheeding ears and the unbelieving hearts I am addressing, I am ready to throw aside my pen, and to sit down, as most of my countrymen and countrywomen seem disposed to do, in sullen or haughty quietude. But this is not the spirit of the Christian, not the spirit in which I commenced this reply; and, difficult as it is, I will, with God's help, speak the truth, and speak it in love, even though conscious that I speak it to those who are not likely to credit my assertions.

'First, then, after an acquaintance of more than thirty years with slavery as it exists in Georgia and South Carolina, I can solemnly aver that I never saw that monster —a slave-trader—never heard him named but with abhorrence, and do not believe that any Southern gentleman could be driven by necessity or tempted by gain to have dealings with one in his own person.

'Next, I aver that slaves are not regarded as mere articles of merchandise, valued only at the number of dollars and cents they may bring. Sympathy, kindness, is felt for them, and as a general thing their owners will resist any temptation and submit to much privation before they will permit them to pass into other hands; and when this becomes a necessity, it is not to the slave-trader they resort. A good slave—by which I mean one who bears a good moral character—will readily find a purchaser less to be dreaded, and with a purchaser chosen by the slave himself, the master will generally deal on more accommodating terms than with any other. So decided is public sentiment at the South on this subject, that I do honestly believe even a cruel nature would be held in check by it, and that no man could there remain the associate of gentlemen who was known to have sold a slave of good character to a slave-trader. Slaves of incorrigibly bad character, who, if they were free Englishmen, would probably find their way to Norfolk Island, are sent instead to the auction-stand, and sold to the highest bidder, be he slave-trader or not. There are occasions indeed when, under the strong hand of the law, whole plantations are disposed of at once, yet even then family ties are respected, and he who would purchase a strong man or skilful artisan must often consent to take with him a feeble wife and helpless children.

'I am reminded that I am opposed, in the statements I have here made, not only by the power of genius and the sensibilities it has aroused, but that, even while I write, a volume is on its way across the Atlantic which will give to the impressions thus created 'confirmation

strong as proof of Holy Writ.' To this, I can only answer, that I have spoken truth, and that truth will abide, let Falsehood oppose it as she may.

'That over an area of hundreds of thousands of square miles, occupied by millions of inhabitants, through the duration of more than a century, instances have occurred of oppressive and cruel abuse of a power limited only by public sentiment and the laws of God as interpreted by his voice within the soul of man, will surprise no one. To suppose that there had not been such instances of abuse, would be to suppose human nature in America had attained an exaltation undreamed of in any other land. But what shall we say of the fairness of that mind which could make these instances, that are but the exceptions, the rule? As truthful would it be to represent the earth as one vast desert, with here and there a green spot to break its desolation—as truthful to represent life in the city where I now write as passing under one dark reign of terror, hate and murder stalking through her streets unchecked, because the police reports of the last week have conveyed to us direful details of fatal brawls and assassination—as truthful would it be to say that the mothers of England are a race of heartless savages because on some, even in that glorious land, life has pressed so heavily—has so crushed out heart and hope—so darkened reason and deadened sensibility—that they have taken the lives of their own children to avoid the cost of their nurture, or to gain the small sum allowed for their funeral expenses.

'Sisters! the world—the whole world—England and America, as well as India and Africa—are full of the

habitations of cruelty. God has gifted us with capacities of sympathy, by whose gracious influence we may inspire the colder reason and move the stronger arm of man in the cause of the world's redemption from sin and sorrow —the world's restoration to more than Eden's joys. But, if we would have our champions successful, the weapons with which we arm them must be wrought by Truth and pointed by Love.

'Sisters of England! let us close our ears to every voice which would introduce hatred and unholy rivalry into our hearts. We have 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all,' whether we dwell in the simple homes of republican America or in the baronial halls of England. Let us each, in our land and our own sphere, labour to teach the ignorant, to comfort the sorrowing, to reclaim the vicious—in whatever condition we find them. Leaving to man—proclaimed, at the first, by Heaven, lord of this lower world—the fashioning of the external forms of social and political life—let it be our unobtrusive, but not less important task to imbue those forms with the Spirit of peace and love and joy in the Holy Ghost. Once instinct with this blessed Spirit, all forms shall expand into grace and beauty, and that glorious freedom 'wherewith Christ maketh free.'

'Such, in spirit, Rev. Sir, would I have had the reply of American Women to those noble Ladies of England who appealed to them with earnest and, as I truly believe, *conscientious*, though, as I also believe, *mistaken* conviction of duty. Such a reply, since other and abler voices are silent, I would even now, with your permission,

make to them through your widely-read and much valued paper; with the hope that it may suggest, at least in my own land, more kindly and Christian thoughts than have lately prevailed on this subject.

'Should I send this paper to you anonymously, I fear that it may fail to secure your attention, or should it do so, that the public may suppose the writer unwilling to indorse her own assertions. I therefore subscribe myself, Rev. Sir,

'Yours, very respectfully,

'M. I. M'Intosh.'

# C.

## *School Papers.* (Vol. i. p. 368.)

### PHILADELPHIA.

THE following Schedule of the course of studies pursued at the High School, Philadelphia, will afford sufficient insight into the advantages of that institution :—

The school is divided into eight divisions, which are again subdivided into classes.

The studies of the 1st division are—Lectures on the History of the English Language and Literature; Klipstein's *Analecta Saxonica*, vol. ii., 5 lessons a week; Gummere's *Practical Astronomy*, 4 lessons a week; Bowditch's *Navigation*, 4 lessons a week; Hygiene and Zoology—2 Lectures and 2 Recitations a week; Mechanical Drawing, once a week; Designing, once a week; Ornamental Penmanship, once a week; Wayland's *Political Economy*, 3 lessons a week; Composition, once a week; Elocution, once a week; Whately's *Logic*, twice a week; Natural Philosophy and Chemistry—1 Lecture and 2 Recitations a week.

The studies of the 2nd division are—Lectures on the History of the English Language and Literature; Klipstein's *Analecta Saxonica*, vol. ii., 5 lessons a week;

Gummere's *Practical Astronomy*, 2 lessons a week; Lectures on the Differential Calculus; Construction and Instrumental Solution of Spherical Triangles, 2 lessons a week; Domestic Medicine and Surgery—2 lectures and 2 recitations a week; Mechanical Drawing, once a week; Geometrical Perspective, once a week; Designing, once a week; Ornamental Penmanship, once a week; Wayland's *Political Economy*, 3 lessons a week; Spanish, *Don Quijote*, 3 lessons a week; French, Tupper's *Prov. Phil.* in French, 2 lessons a week; Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, 3 lessons a week; Horace, 2 lessons a week; Composition, once a week; Elocution, once a week; Whately's *Logic*, twice a week; Natural Philosophy and Chemistry—2 lectures and 4 recitations a week.

The studies of the third division are—Lectures on the History of the English Language and Literature; Klipstein's *Analecta Saxonica*, vol. i., 5 lessons a week; Davies's *Analytical Geometry*, 3 lessons a week; Gummere's *Surveying*, 4 lessons a week; Anatomy and Physiology, 2 lectures and 2 recitations a week; Mechanical Drawing, twice a week; Drawing from Solid Objects in Perspective, once a week; Ornamental Penmanship, once a week; Upham's *Mental Philosophy*, 3 lessons a week; Spanish, *Gil Blas* and Ollendorf's *Gram.*, 2 lessons a week; French, Picot's *Scientific Nar.*, 2 lessons a week; Greek Reader, 3 lessons a week; Cicero's *Orations*, 2 lessons a week; Composition, once a week; Elocution, once a week; Blair's *Rhetoric*, twice a week; Natural Philosophy and Chemistry—1 lecture and 2 recitations a week.

The studies of the 4th division are—Lectures on the

History of the English Language and Literature; Klipstein's *Analecta Saxonica*, vol. i., 5 lessons a week; Davies's *Analytical Geometry*, 3 lessons a week; Gummere's *Surveying*, 4 lessons a week; Anatomy and Physiology, 1 lecture and 2 recitations a week; Geometrical Perspective, once a week; Drawing from Solid Objects, once a week; Drawing from Patterns, once a week; Ornamental Penmanship, once a week; Upham's *Mental Philosophy*, 3 lessons a week; Spanish, Cubi's *Gram. and Translator*, 3 lessons a week; French, *Gil Blas*, 2 lessons a week; Greek, McClintock's *First Lessons*, 3 times a week; Sallust, twice a week; Composition, once a week; Elocution, once a week; Blair's *Rhetoric*, twice a week; Natural Philosophy and Chemistry—1 lecture and 3 recitations a week.

The studies of the 5th division are—Translating Saxon into English—Saxon Gospels, 5 lessons a week; Kendall's *Uranography*, 3 times a week; Chauvenet's *Spherical Trigonometry*, 3 times a week; Anatomy and Physiology—1 lecture and 2 recitations a week; Penmanship, once a week; Drawing, three times a week; Wayland's *Moral Science*, 3 times a week; French, 5 times a week, *Sandford et Merton*, Levizac and Pinney's *Grammar*, and *Exercises*; Latin, Virgil, 5 lessons a week; Composition, once a week; History of Pennsylvania, 1 lecture and 1 recitation a week; Natural Philosophy and Chemistry—1 lecture and 2 recitations a week; Trego's *Geography of Pennsylvania*, 5 times a week; Willard's *Universal History*, 3 times a week.

The studies of the 6th division are—The Saxon Element of the Language, Klipstein's *Saxon Grammar*, 5

lessons a week; Alsop's *Algebra*, 4 times a week; Chauvenet's *Plane Trigonometry*, 3 times a week; Anatomy and Physiology, 1 lecture and 2 recitations a week; Becker's *Penmanship*, once a week; Drawing from Patterns, twice a week; Wayland's *Moral Science*, 3 times a week; French, 5 times a week; Picot's *Historical Narrations*, Levizac and Pinney's *Grammar* and *Exercises;* Latin, Cæsar, 5 lessons a week; Composition, once a week; History of Pennsylvania, 1 lecture and 1 recitation a week; Natural Philosophy, 1 lecture and 2 recitations a week; Johnstone's *Chemistry*, 5 times a week; Goldsmith's *History of Rome*, 3 times a week.

The studies of the 7th division are—The Latin Element of the English Language, 5 lessons a week; Alsop's *Algebra*, 3 times a week; Davies' Legendre's *Geometry*, 3 times a week; Anatomy and Physiology, 1 lecture and 3 recitations a week; Becker's *Penmanship*, once a week; Drawing, Peale's *Graphics*, twice a week; Phonography, 3 recitations a week; Booth's *Instructor*, Patterson's *Reporter's Assistant;* French, 5 times a week, Picot's *Amusing Narrations;* Levizac and Pinney's *Grammar* and *Exercises;* McClintock and Crook's *Life of Joseph* and *First Lessons*, 5 times a week; Composition, once a week; Hart's *English Grammar*, reviewed, once a week; Goldsmith's *History of Greece*, 3 times a week; Johnstone's *Chemistry*, 5 times a week; Becker's *Book-keeping*, 4 times a week.

The studies of the 8th division are—The Latin Element of the English Language, 5 lessons a week; Alsop's *Algebra*, twice a week; Davies' Legendre's *Geometry*, twice a week; Elements of Special Physics, 1 lecture

and 4 recitations a week; M'Murtie's *Scientific Lexicon;* Phonography, lecture and recitation, 5 times a week; Booth's *Instructor*, Andrews and Boyle's *Reader;* French, 5 times a week, Levizac and Pinney's *Grammar* and *Exercises;* Deloutte's *Æsop's Fables;* Latin, M'Clintock and Crook's *First Lessons*, 5 times a week; Composition, once a week; History of England, twice a week; Arithmetic, Vodges' *Mensuration*, 3 times a week; Coates's *Natural Philosophy*, 5 times a week; Becker's *Book-keeping*, 5 times a week.

NORMAL SCHOOL, TORONTO. (p. 92, &c.)

The following are the chief subjects upon which the pupils are examined:—Spelling, Reading, Grammar, Composition, Geography—Mathematical, Physical, and Political,—Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Mensuration and Mechanics, Book-keeping, History, Natural History, Hullah's Vocal Music, Natural Philosophy, Agricultural Chemistry, Science of Education, Art of Teaching, School Organization, &c.

I subjoin three of their Agricultural Prize Papers, to show what practical information they obtain on that useful subject.

*Examination Papers for His Excellency the Governor-General's Prizes in the Science of Agriculture.*

FIRST EXAMINATION PAPER.

1. Into what two departments is the science of chemistry divided, and of what do they respectively treat?

2. What is the difference between a mechanical and a chemical compound? Give examples.

3. State and illustrate the laws of chemical combination.

4. Explain and exemplify the nomenclature of chemistry.

5. What are oxides? acids? salts? alkalies? earths? Give examples, with their respective symbols and equivalents.

6. State the objects and advantages of agricultural chemistry.

7. Describe the most important parts of a plant, and explain their several functions.

8. Name the several elements of which vegetables are composed, organic and inorganic; and mention some of the properties of each.

9. State the composition of air; of water; and the chief properties of each.

10. Whence and how do plants obtain their organic food? also their inorganic?

11. Explain the origin, the diversities, and the classification of soils; and also the accumulation of organic matter in them.

12. State generally the conditions of a fertile soil; also the causes of infertility, both physical and mechanical.

13. Name the various mechanical methods of improving the soil; and state the advantages of each.

14. What are the effects of cropping upon the soil? What is meant by 'Rotation of Crops,' and what are its advantages?

15. Why are manures required by the soil? Classify them; give examples of each; and state the effects which each produces.

16. How can heavy clay soils be improved? how light sandy soils? and what manures are best adapted to old pasture lands?

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SECOND EXAMINATION PAPER.

1. State and explain the laws of chemical combination.

2. State the objects and advantages of agricultural chemistry; and reply to the objection implied in calling it *book-farming.*

3. Give the name and symbols of the several elements of which a plant consists; and mention some of the properties of each.

4. What substances constitute the organic food of plants; and whence are they derived?

5. Enumerate the most important properties of air and water; and explain the formation of dew.

6. Trace the history of an annual plant from its germination to maturity; describe its most important parts; and explain their several functions.

7. State the names, and the composition, of some of the most important proximate principles found in cultivated plants.

8. Explain the process of decay in a dead plant; and state its results.

9. Explain the origin—the composition—the diversities—and the classification of soils; and state the conditions of a fertile soil—and the causes of infertility.

10. State the advantages of draining; subsoil ploughing; and fallowing.

11. State the advantage of a judicious rotation of crops, with reasons; give an example of such a rotation.

12. What means should be adopted to renovate lands exhausted by long-continued cropping?

13. Why are manures necessary?—classify them; and state some of the advantages of each.

14. How does gypsum benefit grass lands? Why is guano so valuable as a manure? and what is the advantage of ploughing-in green crops?

15. What is the source of animal heat? Why is it uniform at all seasons, and throughout the whole body?

16. Trace the course of the food in the animal system; and describe the circulation of the blood.

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THIRD EXAMINATION PAPER.

1. State the relation of geology and chemistry to the science of agriculture.

2. Into how many departments is the science of chemistry divided? and of what do they respectively treat?

3. What are the objects and advantages of agricultural chemistry?

4. State and illustrate the laws of chemical combination; and explain what is meant by 'equivalents.'

5. What is an acid? an alkali? a salt? Give an example of each, with their symbols and equivalents.

6. Describe the several parts of a plant; and explain their functions.

7. Mention the elements which enter into the composition of a plant; and state whence and in what condition they are obtained by the plant.

8. State the distinction between ultimate and proximate principles. Give the names and composition of the

most important proximate principles found in cultivated plants; and mention such as are common to both plants and animals.

9. Explain, by symbols, the transformation which takes place when sugar is converted into alcohol and vinegar.

10. Explain the process of decay in a dead plant, and state its results.

11. Explain the origin and diversity of soils. Give their composition and classification. Also, an approximate analysis of a fertile soil.

12. What are some of the causes of infertility in soils, and how may they be removed?

13. State the principles upon which the 'rotation of crops' is based; and give a judicious rotation, with reason.

14. Why are manures necessary? Classify them, and mention some of each class.

15. State the composition of plaster; of common salt; of lime; and explain their effects as manures.

16. What purposes do the azotized and nonazotized substances severally serve in the animal economy?

17. Trace the course of the food from the mouth till it mingles with the blood.

18. Describe the circulation of the blood. Give its composition; and state the changes which it undergoes.

19. Give the composition of milk. Explain the process of making butter and cheese; and state some of the causes which affect the quality of both.

20. What inorganic substance enters largely into the composition of milk? What purpose does it serve in the animal economy? And with what would you manure the pasture in order to increase its quantity in the milk?

21. What is fermentation? Explain the chemical changes which take place in making bread.

22. Give the composition of fats and oils; and explain the changes which take place in the manufacture of soap.

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FREE ACADEMY, NEW YORK. (p. 118.)

The information given below will afford the reader an opportunity of judging how far this institution merits the eulogium passed upon it in the text :—

*Course of Studies.*

*First Year.*—(First Term.)—Algebra, Elements of Moral Philosophy, Constitution of the United States, Drawing, Elements of Natural History, Latin, French, Oratory, and English Composition.—(Second Term.)—Geometry, Physiology, Anatomy and Hygiene, First Principles of Chemistry, Drawing, Rhetoric, Principles of the English Language, Latin, French, Oratory, and Composition.

*Second Year.*—(First Term.)—Application of Algebra and Geometry, Surveying, Navigation, Latin, Greek, French, Analytical Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, History, Drawing, English Etymology and Philology, Oratory, and English Composition.—(Second Term.)—Mensuration of Planes and Solids, Latin, Greek, Spanish, Moral Philosophy, History, Roman Antiquities, Descriptive Geometry, Analytical Geometry, Shades, Shadows and Perspective Drawing, Oratory, English Composition, Latin Composition.

*Third Year.*—(First Term.)—Differential and Integral

Calculus, Philosophy of Rhetoric, Greek and Roman Antiquities, Latin, Greek, Spanish, Intellectual Philosophy, English Synonymes, Oratory, English Composition, Latin Composition. — (Second Term.) — Natural Philosophy, Latin, Greek, German, Ancient and Mediæval Geography, Greek and Roman Antiquities, Natural History, History and Sources of the English Language, Oratory, English Composition, Greek Composition.

*Fourth Year.*—(First Term.)—Natural Philosophy, Logic, Latin, Greek, Ancient Literature, Modern Literature, English Literature, German, Oratory, English Composition.—(Second Term.)—Astronomy, English Prose Writers and Poets, Critical Readings, Forensic Discussions, History of Philosophy, Machinery and Inventions.

*Fifth Year.*—(First Term.)—Civil Engineering, Chemistry and Physics, Natural and Revealed Religion.—(Second Term.)—Chemistry and its Applications, Law of Nations, Constitutional Law, Commercial Law, Political Economy and Statistics.

*List of Professorships.*

President of the Faculty, and Professor of Moral, Intellectual, and Political Philosophy; Professor of the Latin and Greek Languages, and Literature; Professor of Chemistry and Physics; Professor of Mathematics and Secretary to the Faculty; Professor of Natural Philosophy; Professor of Civil Engineering; Professor of History and Belles Lettres, and Literature; Professor of the English Language and Literature, Professor of Drawing and the Arts of Design, Professor of the French Language and Literature, Professor of the Spanish Lan-

guage and Literature, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Professor of Natural History, Anatomy, Physiology, and Hygiene. There are also eight Tutors or more if required.

As an example of the extent of the subjects embraced by individual students, I subjoin those of the two first in the published reports of the establishment:—

1. *Mr. A., aged Nineteen.*

*Studies pursued from January 1st to July 27th,* 1852. — Davies' *Analytical Geometry* — 8 books; — Davies' *Differential Calculus* — above reviewed; — Grahame's *English Synonymes*—entire and reviewed;—Reid's *Etymological Dictionary, Oratory, English Composition;* Horace's *Satires*—B. 1, *Sat.* 1, 5, 10;—B. 1 2, *Sat.* 4, 8; —*Epist.* B. 1, *Ep.* 1, and *De Art. Poet.;* Xenophon's *Cyropædia* — B. 7, Cap. 5, B. 8, Cap. 1; — Homer's *Iliad,* B. 1 to verse 375; Anthon's *Latin Prose Composition*—complete;—Anthon's *Versification*—Structure of Sense Verses—Translation of English Lyriacs into Latin Elegiacs; — Chemistry; Bird's *Elements of Natural Philosophy;* Physics as applied to Chemistry; Light as far as polarization.—Above, all reviewed.—Six months.

*Studies pursued from September 9th,* 1852, *to January 1st,* 1853.—Bartlett's *Mechanics*—369 pages;—Mahon's *Civil Engineering;*—Railroad Curvatures;—Construction of Plans, Maps, &c.; Topographical Drawing; Use of Instruments; Field Exercises, &c.; Whately's *Logic*—entire—except the Appendix; Composition; German, Woodbury's *German Grammar;* Schiller's *Maria Stuart* —to end of Act 3;—Glaubensklees' *German Exercises;* Chemistry; Physics in their application to Chemistry;

Heat; Light—complete;—Magnetism, Electricity, &c. Four months.

2. *Mr. B., aged Nineteen.*

*Studies pursued from January 1st to July 27,* 1852.—Same as No. 1 in Mathematics; Belles Lettres, English Literature, and Chemistry; Spanish, viz., Ollendorff's *Spanish Grammar* — half through; — Ochoa's *Guia de la Conversacion*—nearly complete;— Ascargorta's *Historia de España; Iriarte; Fabulas;* Moratin's *El si de la Niñas;* Spanish Compositions, Conversations. Six months.

*Studies pursued from September 9th,* 1852, *to January 1st,* 1853.—Same as No. 1.

The Examination Papers here added will convey some idea of the proficiency expected from all the first class:—

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

CLASS A.

1. What are the chief component elements of the English Language, and whence have they been derived?

2. Describe the progress of the Language, and show under what influence it attained a character sufficiently consistent to entitle it to the name of the English?

3. When did English literature arise, and what are its earliest germs?

4. According to the nature of the subject, what are the different subdivisions of Literature?

5. What particular circumstances of the times fostered the growth of each respective sub-division in English Literature?

6. What authors contributed most to the culture and establishment of each several department?

7. Describe the character and merits of Chaucer's works, and their worth as an integral part of English Literature?

8. Enumerate, chronologically, the chief writers of Prose and Fiction from De Foe to Goldsmith, inclusively?

Name their most important works?

State the nature and purpose of these?

And briefly criticise their distinguishing merits and defects?

9. Show the features of resemblance in the early Greek and English drama?

10. Describe the first form of the English drama?

11. Describe the second form, and show the nature and causes of the transition from the former.

12. Describe the third form, as exhibited in Marlow's, Shakspeare's, and Johnson's plays, and state the causes of this development?

13. What special causes actively effected literary development in the reign of Queen Elizabeth?

14. Give the life and character of Shakspeare?

Name his chief productions?

State his distinguishing excellencies?

15. Give the life and character of Milton?

Describe his works?

State his peculiar merits and defects?

16. What influence did the Restoration of Charles II. exert upon the social character of the English, and consequently upon their literature?

17. Describe the condition of English Literature immediately before the time of Dryden, and explain the active causes of that condition?

18. Describe the character and writings of Dryden?

19. Describe the character and writings of Pope?

20. Describe generally the character of the Historical Literature of England; name its most eminent writers, and criticise their works?

21. Explain the influence which the Grecian, Latin, French and Italian Literature has exerted upon the English, and name the writers who have been most affected by each, respectively?

### ANALOGY OF NATURAL AND REVEALED RELIGION.

#### Class A.

1. The Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion with reference to a future life.

2. Of the Government of God by Rewards and Punishments, and particularly of the latter.

3. Of the Moral Government of God.

4. Are we in a state of trial?

5. Of a state of Probation as intended for Moral Discipline and Improvement.

6. Of the Opinion of Necessity, considered as influencing Practice.

7. Of the Government of God, considered as a scheme or Constitution.

8. Why imperfectly comprehended?

9. The supposed presumption against a Revelation, considered as Miraculous.

10. Our Incapacity of judging what were to be expected in a Revelation.

11. The credibility from analogy, that it (Revelation) must contain many things liable to objections.

12. Why should revelation be made?

13. The want of Universality in a Revelation.

14. Are there any deficiencies in proof of it?

15. The objections which may be made against arguing from the Analogy of Nature to Religion.

## ASTRONOMY.

### Class A.

1. What is Astronomy? Name and define its division?

2. Explain how it may be known from observation that the sun has a progressive motion from west to east, and completes an entire revolution in the heavens in a year.

3. Explain how the latitude of a place may be found from observations upon the pole star.

4. Explain the method of finding the time and position of the vernal or autumnal equinox.

5. What data are neccssary in order to find the real diameter of a heavenly body, and what is the process of the calculation?

6. Explain the process of calculating an eclipse of the moon, and deduce the formulæ for the times of the different phases of the eclipse.

7. Describe the planet Jupiter, and explain the theory of the causes of its belts.

8. What are double stars?

9. What discovery was made by Sir William Herschel with reference to the class of double stars called Binary Stars?

10. How may the relative masses and densities of the sun and planets be computed?

11. Explain the theory of the tides, and the method of

finding the relative influence of the sun and moon in raising the waters.

12. Explain why Venus appears sometimes as an evening star and sometimes as a morning star.

13. Explain the methods of finding the longitude of any place, and state the principle upon which the methods are based.

14. What are variable stars? Give an example.

15. What data are necessary for finding the distance of a heavenly body? Deduce the formula for the calculation.

16. What is meant by the proper motions of the stars, and how can part of these motions be accounted for, by supposing a motion of the sun and planets through space?

17. What are the elements of the orbit of a planet, and by which are the dimensions of the orbit, its position in space, and the position of the planet determined?

18. What are the three kinds of time employed by astronomers? State on what each kind is based.

### CHEMISTRY AND PHYSICS.

#### CLASS A.

The answer to each question must be clear and full, and must be carefully worded and legibly written.

1. Explain the theory of organic compound radicals and give instances of its application to the ether series.

2. When are bodies said to be homologous! Give instances of homologous series of acids and bases.

3. Explain the term isomerism, and illustrate by examples.

4. Explain the theory of substitution, and give examples.

5. What is ammonium, and what evidence have we of its real existence.

6. How do we determine the equivalent of an organic acid? of an organic base?

7. Give an explanation of the cause of animal heat.

8. Give an account of the nutrition of plants from a chemical point of view.

9. Give an account of the nutrition of animals from a chemical point of view.

10. Give the process for the manufacture of beer, with the chemical principles involved.

11. What is the proper mode of cooking meat, so as to preserve most perfectly its nutritive properties, and how is the most nutritious soup prepared?

12. What is the constitution of the oils and fats? Explain the process of saponification.

13. What is meant by the term *fallow* in agriculture? Explain the advantages of the practice.

14. State the cause of the progressive diminution of the fertility of the soil in civilized countries, and the remedy.

15. Explain the action of saline purgative medicines.

16. Give the products of the fermentation of sugar with different ferments.

17. Explain the effect of the mechanical operations of agriculture.

18. In what manner may starch and lignin be converted into sugar?

19. How is chloroform prepared? what is its constitution, and what are its properties?

20. Give the theory of the use of mordants in dyeing.

The student will number his answers to correspond with the question.

## CIVIL ENGINEERING.

### Class A.

1. Give a classification of building materials, stone, the silicious, argillaceous and calcareous, brick, wood, and metals.

2. If the angle of deflection is 1° 30′ for a chain of 100 feet, what is the radius of curvature?

3. What are the general principles of framing—frames of timber, frames of iron, strength of frames?

4. Show the method of locating a railroad curve by means of offsets from the tangent towards the centre of curvature.

5. Give a description of the different kinds of masonry —cut stone masonry, rubble stone, and brick masonry.

6. Prove that the equation R = A. tang. $\frac{1}{2}$ T Cot. $\frac{1}{4}$ C. gives the position of a railroad curve, which passes a given distance from the intersection of two tangent lines.

7. Describe the various kinds of Bridges—stone, wooden, cast-iron, suspension and aqueduct bridges.

8. Investigate formulæ for locating a railroad curve, which shall pass through a given point, and be tangent to a given line, the co-ordinates of the given point, referred to the tangent point, being given.

9. Give a description of the survey and location of common roads, drainage, excavation, embankment, and pavements.

10. Show the method of connecting two parallel sections of a railroad by arcs of double curvature, having equal radii, the distance and bearing of the points connected being given.

11. Describe the natural features of Rivers—river improvements and slack water navigation.

12. Two curves of unequal radii being tangent to a line at the same point, find the angle between the $n^{th}$. chain on the one, and the $m^{th}$. chain on the other; also the distance between them.

13. What can be said of Railways—of wood and iron, curves, gradients, and tunnels?

14. Investigate a formula for uniting two tangents not parallel, by an arc of double curvature.

15. A train of cars while in motion, ran off a bridge, and fell 15 feet, in a horizontal distance of 60 feet; what was the velocity of the train per hour?

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## WEST POINT MILITARY ACADEMY. (p. 122.)

The course of studies which are pursued in this institution will be found in the text, page 125. The following tables are subjoined, for the purpose of explaining the system followed for ascertaining the Demerit, Merit, and Qualifications of the students.

### DEMERIT.

*Degree of Criminality of Offences, arranged in Classes.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Mutinous conduct | 10 |
| 2. Disobedience of orders of military superior | 8 |
| 3. Visiting in study hours | 5 |
| 4. Absence from drill | 4 |
| 5. Idleness in academy | 3 |
| 6. Inattention under arms | 2 |
| 7. Late at roll call | 1 |

*Form of Conduct Roll made up for the yearly examination.*

The column marked 'Class' indicates number of years student has been in the academy.

| Name. | Class. | Demerit. |
|---|---|---|
| H. L. . . | 1 | 5 |
| C. P.. . . | 3 | 10 |
| W. K. M. . | 2 | 192 |

*A particular case to exemplify the manner of obtaining the numbers in the column of demerit:—*

Cadet W. K. M. was charged with 48 delinquencies, to wit: of the second class of offences, 2, which being multiplied by 8, the number expressing the degree of criminality of an offence of that class, is . . . . 16

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Of the 3d class | 3 | multiplied by 5 . . . | 15 |
| 4th „ | 13 | „ 4 . . . | 52 |
| 5th „ | 10 | „ 3 . . . | 30 |
| 6th „ | 11 | „ 2 . . . | 22 |
| 6th „ | 9 | „ 1 . . . | 9 |
| | | | 144 |
| The Cadet being a member of the 2d class, add $\frac{1}{3}$ | | | 48[a] |
| | | Total demerit . . . | 192 |

The following list of Cadets is attached to the Army Register in conformity with a regulation for the Government of the United States Military Academy, requiring the names of the most distinguished Cadets, not exceed-

[a] *Vide* text, page 125.

ing five in each class, to be reported for this purpose at each annual examination.

*Reported at the Examination in June,* 18—.

| No. | Names. | Appointed from | Science and Art in which each Cadet particularly excels. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | First Class. | | |
| 1 | G. L. A. | Mass. | Civil and Military Engineering, Ethics, Mineralogy and Geology, Infantry Tactics, Artillery, Natural and Experimental Philosophy, Chemistry, Drawing, Mathematics, French and English Studies. |
| 2 | J. St. C. M. | Pa. | Civil and Military Engineering, Ethics, Mineralo y and Geology, Infantry Tactics, Artillery, Natural and Experimental Philosophy, Chemistry, Drawing, Mathematics, and French. |

'*General Merit Roll,*' *sent also to the War Office.*

| Names. | MERIT IN | | | | | | | | | | | | General Merit. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mathematics. | French. | English Studies. | Philosophy. | Chemistry. | Drawing. | Engineering. | Ethics. | Mineralogy & Geology. | Infantry Tactics. | Artillery. | Conduct. | |
| A | 300·0 | 98·7 | 100·0 | 300·0 | 150·0 | 91·3 | 300·0 | 200·0 | 100·0 | 150·0 | 158·0 | 297·3 | 2237·3 |
| B | 295·3 | 97·5 | 89·5 | 295·6 | 147·5 | 100·0 | 285·3 | 193·4 | 96·7 | 147·5 | 145·1 | 293·8 | 2187·2 |
| C | 276·7 | 69·1 | 98·9 | 278·2 | 145·1 | 94·2 | 290·2 | 186·9 | 98·2 | 137·8 | 147·5 | 294·5 | 2117·3 |

'*Official Register of the Cadets' at West Point, printed yearly.*

| Order of general merit. | Names. | State. | Date of admission. | Age at date of admission. | | Order of merit in their respective Studies. | | | | | Demerit of the Year. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Years. | Months. | Engineering. | Ethics. | Mineral. & Geol. | Infantry Tactics. | Artillery. | |
| 1 | T. L. C. | At large | July 1, 1848 | 17 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 39 |
| 2 | N. F. A. | Tenn. | do. | 18 | 7 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 18 |
| 3 | G. H. M. | Pa. | do. | 16 | 8 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 73 |

## D. (p. 152.)

### *Extent of Telegraph in the United Kingdom.*

| Miles. | | Miles of Wire. |
|---|---|---|
| | **Electric Telegraph Company.** | |
| 5,070 . . . | Under ground. . . . . | 5,000 |
| | Above ground. . . . . | 20,700 |
| | **Magnetic Telegraph Company.** | |
| 1,740 . . . | Under ground. . . . . | 6,180 |
| | Above ground. . . . . | 4,076 |
| | **Submarine Telegraph Company.** | |
| 400 . . . | Under ground . . . . . | 2,740 |
| | Above ground. . . . . | — |
| | **British Telegraph Company.** | |
| 1,000[a]. . . | Under ground. . . . . | 2,755 |
| | Above ground. . . . . | 3,218 |
| | **Irish Telegraph Company.** | |
| 88 . . . | Under ground . . . . . | 176 |
| | Above ground. . . . . | — |
| Total 8,298 | | Total 44,845 |

Of the foregoing, 534 miles are submarine, employing 1100 miles of wire. The cost of putting up a telegraph was originally £105 per mile for two wires. Experience now enables it to be done for £50, and that in a far more durable and efficient manner than is practised in the

[a] The miles of distance may not be quite exact, but the miles of wire may be depended upon.

United States. The cost of laying down a submarine telegraph is stated to be about £230 per mile for six wires, and £110 for single wires.

One feature in which the telegraphs of Great Britain differ materially from those of America and all other countries, is, the great extent of underground lines. There are nearly 17,000 miles of wire placed underground in England, the cost of which is six times greater than that of overground lines; but it has the inestimable advantage of being never interrupted by changes of weather or by accidents, while the cost of its maintenance is extremely small. This fact must be borne in mind, when we come to consider the relative expense of the transmission of messages in England and the States.

In the foregoing lines we have shown, that, England possesses miles of line, 8,298; miles of wire, 44,845; the United States possesses, miles of line, 16,735; miles of wire, 23,281.

We thus see, that the telegraph in the United States extends over more than twice as much ground as the British lines; while on the other hand the system of telegraph in England is so much more fully developed, that nearly double the quantity of wire is in actual use. On the English lines, which are in the hands of three companies only, from 25,000 to 30,000 miles are worked on Cook and Wheatstone's system; 10,000 on the magnetic system—without batteries;—3,000 on Bain's chemical principle—which is rapidly extending;—and the remainder on Morse's plan.

The price of the transmission of messages is less in America than in England, especially if we regard the

distance of transmission. In America a message is limited to ten words; in England to twenty words; and the message is delivered free within a certain distance from the station.

In both countries the names and addresses of the sender and receiver are sent free of charge. The average cost of transmission from London to every station in Great Britain is $\frac{13}{10}$ of a penny per word per 100 miles. The average cost from Washington to all the principal towns in America is about $\frac{6}{10}$ of a penny, per word, per 100 miles. The ordinary scale of charges for twenty words in England is 1*s.* for fifty miles and under; 2*s.* 6*d.* between fifty miles and 100 miles; all distances beyond that, 5*s.*, with a few exceptions, where there is great competition. Having received the foregoing statement from a most competent authority, its accuracy may be confidently relied upon.

In conclusion, I would observe that the competition which is gradually growing up in this country must eventually compel a reduction of the present charges; but even before that desirable opposition arrives, the companies would, in my humble opinion, exercise a wise and profitable discretion by modifying their present system of charges. Originally the addresses of both parties were included in the number of words allowed; that absurdity is now given up, but one scarcely less ridiculous still remains—viz., twenty words being the shortest message upon which their charges are based. A merchant in New York can send a message to New Orleans, a distance of 2000 miles, and transact important business in ten words—say 'Buy me a thousand bales of cotton—

ship to Liverpool;' but if I want to telegraph from Windsor to London, a distance of twenty miles, 'Send me my portmanteau,' I must pay for twenty words. Surely telegraph companies would show a sound discretion by lowering the scale to ten words, and charging two-thirds of the present price for twenty. Opposition would soon compel such a manifestly useful change; but, independent of all coercion, I believe those companies that strive the most to meet the reasonable demands of the public will always show the best balance-sheet at the end of the year.—Thirteenpence is more than one shilling.

## E. (p. 339.)

### *A short Sketch of the Progress of Fire-arms.*

THE first clear notice which we have of rifles is in the year 1498, nearly 120 years after the invention of gunpowder was known to Europe. The Chinese, I believe, claim the invention 3,000 years before the Creation. The first rifle-maker was one Zügler, in Germany, and his original object appears to have been merely to make the balls more ragged, so as to inflict more serious wounds; a result produced before that time by biting and hacking the balls. This appears clearly to have been the intention, inasmuch as the cuts were made perfectly straight in the first instance. The accurate dates of the introduction of the various twists I have not been able to ascertain.

I can find no mention of breech-loading arms before the reign of Henry VIII., since which time they have been constantly used in China and other parts of the East. In 1839, they were, I understand, extensively used in Norway. A breech-loading carbine, lately brought across to this country from America, as the invention of Mr. Sharpe, was patented by a Mr. Melville, of London, as far back as 1838. I understand Mr. Sharpe's carbine was tried at Woolwich not long ago, and found to clog, owing to the expansion of the metal from

consecutive firing. Nor has any breech-loading weapon hitherto introduced been able to make its way into extensive practical use, although the Americans have constantly used them in their navy for some years past. To return to ancient times.—There is a matchlock in the Tower of London with one barrel and a revolving breech cylinder which was made in the fifteenth century, and there is a pistol on a similar plan and dating from Henry VIII., which may be seen in the Rotunda at Woolwich. The cylinders of both of these weapons were worked by hand.

The old matchlock invented in 1471, gave way to a substitute scarcely less clumsy, and known by the initiated as the wheel-lock, the ignition taking place by the motion of the steel wheel against a fixed flint placed in the midst of the priming. This crude idea originated in 1530, and reigned undisputed until the invention of the common old flint and steel, about the year 1692, when this latter became lord paramount, which it still remains with some infatuated old gentlemen, in spite of the beautiful discovery of the application of fulminating powder, as a means of producing the discharge.

Mr. Forsyth patented this invention in 1807, but, whether from prejudice or want of perfection in its application, no general use was made of the copper cap until it was introduced among sportsmen by Mr. Egg, in 1818, and subsequently Mr. J. Manton patented his percussion tubes for a similar purpose. The use of the copper cap in the army dates 1842, or nearly a quarter of a century after its manifest advantages had been apparent to the rest of the community.

Previous to this invention it was impossible to

make revolving weapons practically available for general use.

The public are indebted to Mr. Jones for the ingenious mechanism by which continuous pressure on the trigger causes both the revolution of the barrels and the discharge of the piece; this patent goes back to 1829-1830. Colonel Colt first endeavoured to make a number of barrels revolve by raising the hammer, but the weight of the barrels suggested a return to the old rotatory cylinder, for which he took out a patent in 1835; and in 1836 he took out another patent for obtaining the rotatory motion by drawing back the trigger, and he subsequently introduced the addition of a lever ramrod fixed on to the barrel. Col. Colt came to the conclusion that the hammer-revolving cylinder was the more useful article, inasmuch as it enabled the person using it to take a more steady aim than with the other, which, revolving and firing by the action of the trigger, the moment of explosion could not be depended upon. To Col. Colt belongs the honour of so combining obsolete and modern inventions, and superadding such improvements of his own, as to produce the first practical and really serviceable weapon.

Since then Messrs. Dean and Adams, in 1852, revived the old invention of the trigger-revolving cylinder, which has the advantage of only requiring one hand to fire, but which is immeasurably inferior where accuracy of aim is wanted. Mr. Tranter, in 1853, patented a new invention, which, by employing a double trigger, combines the advantages of Colt and avoids the drawbacks of Dean and Adams. By a side wind he has also adapted that invaluable application of Colt's—a fixed lever ramrod. Many other patents are springing up daily, too nu-

merous to mention, and too similar to admit of easy definition.

To return to rifles.—It is well known that the ordinary rifle in use until late years was the seven-grooved, with a spherical ball, and the two-grooved, with a zone bullet: the latter an invention known as the Brunswick rifle, and imported from Berlin about 1836. It was upon this weapon Mr. Lancaster proceeded to make some very ingenious experiments, widening the grooves gradually until at last they met, and an elliptic bore rifle was produced, for which he obtained a patent in July, 1850; but upon investigation it would be proved that Mr. Lancaster's patent was invalid, inasmuch as the elliptical bore rifle is of so ancient a date that it is mentioned in *Sclopetaria*—a work printed in 1808—as even then obsolete; the details, methods, and instruments for their fabrication are fully described therein, and I have seen a rifle of this kind, made by 'Dumazin, à Paris,' which is at least a century old; it is now in the possession of the Duke of Athole. Mr. Lancaster is entitled to the credit of bringing into practical use what others had thrown on one side as valueless.

From rifles I turn to balls, in which the chief feature of improvement is the introduction of the conical shape. The question of a conical ball with a saucer base is fully discussed in *Scloppetaria*, but no practical result seems to have been before the public until Monsieur Delvigne, in 1828, employed a solid conical ball, which, resting on the breech clear of the powder, he expanded by several blows with the ramrod sufficiently to make it take the grooves. Colonel Thouvenin introduced a steel spire into the breech, upon which the ball being

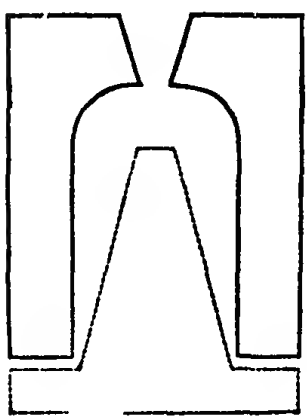
forced, it expanded more readily. This spire is called the 'tige.' Colonel Tamisier cut three rings into the cylindrical surface of the bullet, to facilitate the expansion and improve its flight. These three combinations constitute the *Carabine à Tige* now in general use in the French army. Captain Minié—in, I believe, 1850—dispensed with the tige, and employed a conical hollow in the ball; into which, introducing an iron cup, the explosion of the powder produced the expansion requisite. As Captain Minié has made no change in the rifle, except removing a tige which was only lately introduced, it is certainly an extraordinary Irishism to call his conical ball a Minié rifle; it was partially adopted in England as early as 1851. Why his invention has not been taken up in France, I cannot say.

Miraculous to remark, the British Government for once appear to have appreciated a useful invention, and various experiments with the Minié ball were carried on with an energy so unusual as to be startling. It being discovered that the iron cup had various disadvantages, besides being a compound article, a tornado of inventions rushed in upon the Government with every variety of modification. The successful competitor of this countless host was Mr. Pritchett, who while dispensing with the cup entirely, produced the most satisfactory results with a simple conical bullet imperceptibly saucered out in the base, and which is now the generally adopted bullet in Her Majesty's service. The reader will recognise in Mr. Pritchett's bullet a small modification of the conical ball alluded to in *Scloppetaria* nearly fifty years ago.

Through the kindness of a friend, I have been able to get some information as to the vexed question of the Minié ball,

which militates against some of the claims of the French captain, if invention be one. The character of the friend through whom I have been put in correspondence with the gentlemen named below, I feel to be a sufficient guarantee for he truthfulness of the statements which I here subjoin.

Mr. Stanton, a proprietor of collieries at Newcastle-on-Tyne, conceived the idea that if a bullet were made to receive the projectile force in the interior of the bullet, but beyond the centre of gravity, it would continue its flight without deviation. Having satisfied himself of the truth of this theory, he sent the mould to the Board of Ordnance on the 20th of January, 1797, and received a reply the following month, stating that upon trial it was found to be less accurate in its flight and less powerful in its penetration than the round bullet then in use. They also informed Mr. Stanton that there were some conical balls in the Repository which had been deposited there by the late Lieutenant-General Parker, and which, having more solidity, were superior to those sent by Mr. Stanton, thus proving that the idea of a conical expanding ball is of very ancient date. The mould sent to the Ordnance by Mr. Stanton was taken from a wooden model, of which the accompanying is an exact diagram, and which is in the possession of Mr. Stanton, solicitor, at Newcastle, the son of the originator. Evidence is afforded that Mr. Boyd, a banker, and Mr. Stanton, sen., both tried the ball with very different success to that obtained at Woolwich; but this need excite no



astonishment, asevery sportsman is aware of the wonderful difference in the accuracy with which smooth-bored fire-arms carry balls, and for which no satisfactory reason has ever been advanced. Mr. Kell was subsequently present when his friend Mr. Stanton, jun. had balls made on his father's principle for a pair of Wogden's pistols thirty years ago; the result is reported as satisfactory.

In 1829 Mr. Kell conceived the idea of applying the principle to rifles, for which purpose he had a mould made by Mr. Thomas Bulcraig. Mr. Kell altered the original ball in two points; he made the sides stronger, and he formed the front of the ball conoidical instead of hemispherical. I have the ball made from that mould now lying before me, and it is precisely the same as the Minié ball without the iron cup, which we have shown in the preceding pages is totally unnecessary. This ball has been constantly in use by Mr. Kell and others until the present day; it is the first application of a conical expanding ball to rifles that I can find on record, and whatever credit is due to the person who transferred the expanding ball from a smooth bore wherein it was useless, to a rifle wherein it is now proved to be invaluable, belongs, as far as I can trace the application back, to Mr. Kell, A.D. 1829.

In 1830, Mr. Kell employed Mr. Greener, then a gun-maker at Newcastle, to make him a mould for a double pea rifle, and he left in Mr. Greener's hands one of the balls made for the Wogden pistol, and one of those made by Mr. Bulcraig, to assist him in so doing. It appears that Mr. Greener must have been satisfied with the success attending Mr. Kell's application of the conical

ball to a rifle, for some years after, in August, 1836, he applied to the Ordnance for permission to have a trial of the conical ball made; this was granted, and the experiment was conducted under Major Walcott of the Royal Artillery, on the sands near Tynemouth Castle, the firing party consisting of a company of the 60th Rifles. Mr. Greener having failed to bring a target, to test the superior penetrating power of his balls, the ordinary Artillery target was used. Mr. Greener's ball had a conical plug of lead in the hollow, for the purpose of producing the expansion when driven home by the force of the powder. After firing several rounds at two hundred yards, only one ball of Mr. Greener's, which had struck the target, was found to have the plug driven home, the others had all lost their plugs. The same effect was produced when firing into a sand bank. A trial was then made at 350 yards; the spherical balls and the conical balls both went home to the target, but only one of the latter penetrated.

The objections pointed out to the conical ball were: the frequent loss of the plug, by which its weight was diminished; the inconvenience of having a ball composed of two separate parts; the difficulty of loading if the plug was not placed accurately in the centre; and the danger of the plug losing its place in consequence of being put in loosely, especially when carried about for any length of time in a cartridge.—Mr. Greener loaded the rifles during the trial with the ball and powder separate, not in cartridge.—The advantage admitted was, merely, rapidity of loading if the plug was fairly placed; no superiority of range appears to have been produced

over the rifles used by the 60th Regiment. Mr. Greener solicited another trial, but after the report of Major Walcott, the Select Committee considering the ball 'useless and chimerical,' no further trial was accorded. The conical ball question was thus once more doomed to oblivion.

In process of time the fabulous ranges of the '*Carabine à Tige*' were heard of, and when it was ascertained that the French riflemen potted the gunners on the ramparts of Rome with such rapidity that they could not stand to their guns before a rifle nearly a mile distant, the cone shape once more turned up, and Captain Minié came forward as the champion of the old expanding ball. The tocsin of war was sounding in the East; the public were crying aloud for British arms to be put upon an equality with those of foreign armies; the veterans who had earned their laurels under poor old 'Brown Bess' stuck faithfully to her in her death-struggle, and dropped a tear over the triumph of new-fangled notions.

In the middle of last century, Lieutenant-General Parker's ball was thrown aside; at the end of the century, Mr. Stanton's shared the same fate; Mr. Greener's followed in 1836 with equal ill success; Captain Minié's had a short reign, and was in turn superseded by the more solid and superior ball now in use, and for which the country is indebted to the experimental perseverance of Mr. Pritchett; and, if ever things obtain their right names, the weapon of the British army will be called the Pritchett ball and not the Minié rifle; but as the world persists in calling the Missouri the Mississippi, I suppose the British public will behave

equally shabbily by Mr. Pritchett. The reader will judge for himself of the respective credit due to the various persons through whose ingenuity we have at length succeeded in obtaining the present efficient ball, the wounds from which are more frightful than pen can portray.

There is, however, one lesson which we should learn from the great opposition there has been to the introduction of the conical ball, and that is, the advantage of remodelling the department to which such inventions are referred. The foregoing remarks appear to me conclusive evidence that the testing of fire-arms should not be left to age and experience alone. Prejudice is all but inseparable from age—young and fresh blood is a powerful auxiliary. What I would suggest is, that there should be a special examination to qualify officers of the engineers and artillery to sit in judgment on so important a subject as arms and missiles; and I would then propose that two officers of the former corps, and five of the latter, be selected from those below the rank of field officer, to form a separate and junior Board, and that each Board should send in its own report. The method of selection which I would suggest is by ballot or vote of those officers of the same rank in their respective corps; for I feel sure that those who live most together, are the best acquainted with one another's talents. If two Boards are objectionable, form one Board, of which one-half shall be of the junior rank, and if they be equally divided in opinion, let the higher authority appoint an umpire and order a second trial.

Remember how long the now all-but-forgotten 'Brown

Bess' kept the field against the adversary which has since proved her immeasurable superior; and let the future prove that past experience has not been entirely thrown away. Trials may be troublesome, but officers are paid for taking trouble; and the ingenuity of inventors will always be quickened in proportion to the conviction that their inventions will receive a full and unprejudiced trial; and that, if their first shot at the target of Success be an outside ringer, they will not be denied a chance of throwing another into the Bull's-eye.

Since the foregoing remarks went to press, it appears that the Pritchett ball has been found wanting, both in England and in the Crimea; its flight is said to be irregular, and the deposit of lead in the barrel so great that after thirty rounds the charge cannot be got down. If this be so, it is only one more proof of the necessity for some improvement in the Board appointed to judge of and superintend warlike missiles.

When Mr. Pritchett had perfected his ball, it was tried in the three-groove rifle, for which it was intended, with the most satisfactory results, and was fired an indefinite number of times without the slightest difficulty. It appears, however, that this successful trial was not sufficient to satisfy the new-born zeal of the authorities. Accordingly, a conclave of gunmakers was consulted previous to the order for manufacturing being sent to Enfield; but with a depth of wisdom far beyond human penetration they never asked the opinion of Mr. Pritchett, who had made the rifle which had carried the ball so satisfactorily.

The wise men decided that it would be an improvement if the grooves were deepened—a strange decision when all the experience of the day tends to prove that the shallower the groove the better. Down went the order; the improved rifles were made as fast as possible, and in the month of March they went to the seat of war. May is hardly passed by, and the sad fact discovered in the Crimea is echoed back on our shores, that after thirty rounds the soldiers may right about face or trust to cold steel. I think my youngest boy—if I had one—would have suggested testing the improvement before indulging the army with the weapon. Perhaps the authorities went on the principle that a rifle is a rifle, and a ball is a ball, and therefore that it must be all right. It might as well be said a chancellor is a chancellor, and a black dose is a black dose; therefore, because an able Æsculapius had prescribed a draught which proved eminently useful to bilious Benjamin, it must agree equally well with lymphatic William.—Never mind, my dear John Bull, sixpence more in the pound Income-tax will remedy the little oversight.

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To those who are amateurs of the rifle, I would recommend a Pamphlet, written by Chapman, and published in New York; it is chiefly intended for those who delight in the infantine or octogenarian amusement of peppering a target, but it also contains many points of interest. Among other subjects discussed are the following:—The quantity of twist requisite in a rifle barrel—the gaining twist, as opposed to Mr. Greener, and the decreasing twist—the size of ball best suited to different distances—the swedge, by which a ball, being cast rather larger than requisite, is compressed into a more solid mass—the powder to use, decreasing in size of the grain in proportion to the diminishing length of barrel—the loading muzzle, by which the lips of the grooves are preserved as sharp as a razor, &c. The pamphlet can easily be procured through Messrs. Appleton, of New York and London.

## F. (p. 396.)

### *Tabular Comparison.*

THE object of the following Table is to enable the reader at a glance to see the difference existing in several interesting points between this country and the United States. Certain data are given in the years 1828 and 1853, to show the progress made in the last quarter of a century. The colonies are not included in any of the following calculations. The man who expects to find perfect accuracy in any statistical document dealing with subjects on a grand scale, must indeed be but slightly acquainted with the difficulties of the work, and with the errors which will creep in, even when under the management of the most experienced hands. I can only say that I have taken every pains to avoid mistakes, and in presenting this Table to the reader, I claim no more than a man of business does in sending in his account, and sign it, 'errors excepted.'

The reader is requested to turn to the notes at the end of the Table, which are indispensable to its comprehension in many places.

| | United Kingdom. | United States. |
|---|---|---|
| Area in square miles . . . . | 120,000 . . . | 3,500,000 |
| Railroad, miles of[a] . . . . | 8,068 . . . | 13,266 |
| Railway, miles of . . . . . | 15,068 . . . | 16,535 |
| Telegraph, miles of[b] . . . . | 8,298 . . . | 16,735 |
| Wire, miles of . . . . . | 44,845 . . . | 23,281 |

| | | United Kingdom. | United States. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Population | 1828 | 23,400,000 | 12,000,000 |
| „ | 1850 | 27,400,000 | 23,200,000 |
| Revenue | 1828 | £55,187,142 | £5,091,136 |
| „ | 1853 | 54,430,344 | 12,880,880 |
| Imports | 1828[c] | 45,028,805 | 18,587,063 |
| „ | 1853 | 123,099,313 | 56,275.515 |
| Exports | 1828 | 36,812,756 | 15,175,583 |
| „ | 1853 | 98,933,781 | 48,504,992 |
| Tonnage | 1828[d] | 2,161,373 | 1,741,392 |
| „ | 1853 | 3,969.158 | 4,407,010 |
| National Debt, 1853[e] | | £771,335,801 | £11,830,592 |
| Ambassador to Paris[f] | | 8,000 | 3,150 |
| Secretary of Legation | | 1,000 | 472 |
| Law[g] | | 10,000 | 1,680 |

MILITARY.[h]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Army and Ordnance Estimates, 1853 | £9,685,079 | £3,250,133 |
| Number of commissioned officers | 6,815 | 952 |
| Non-commissioned officers and rank and file | 142,815 | 9,377 |

*Full Pay and Allowances per annum.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| General | £2,076 | £947 |
| Adjutant-General | 1,384 | 461 |
| Quartermaster-General | 1,384 | 621 |
| Brigadier-General | 520 | 621 |
| Infantry Col. of the Line | 500 | 418 |
| „ Lieut.-Col. do. | 310 5 | 365 |
| „ Major do. | 292 0 | 325 |
| „ Captain do. | 211 8 | 200 |
| „ Lieut. do. | 118 12 | 175 |

| | United Kingdom. | United States. |
|---|---|---|
| Infantry, 2nd Lieut. or Ensign of the Line. | £ 95 16 | £162 |
| Colonel of Cavalry, do. | 900 0 | 461 |
| Lieut.-Colonel do. do. | 419 15 | 408 |
| Major do. do. | 351 6 | 355 |
| Captain do. do. | 266 3 | 268 |
| Lieutenant do. do. | 164 5 | 226 |
| 2nd Lieutenant or Cornet do. do. | 146 0 | 226 |
| Colonel of Engineers | 479 0 | 461 |
| Lieut.-Colonel do. | 330 10 | 408 |
| Major do. | 330 10 | 355 |
| Captain do. | 217 10 | 248 |
| Lieutenant do. | 125 14 | 206 |
| 2nd Lieutenant do. | 101 17 | 206 |
| Surgeons | 237 5 | 315 |
| Do. after 10 yrs. service | 273 15 | 375 |
| Assistant Surgeons | 155 2 Cav.<br>136 17 Inf. | 206 |
| Do. after 10 yrs. service | 200 10 Cav.<br>182 10 Inf. | 309 |

## Naval.[1]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Navy Estimate, 1853 | £6,640,596 | £2,287,244 |
| Number of commissioned officers | 4,480 | 971 |
| Number of petty officers, seamen, &c. | 43,500 | 10,000 |
| Number of ships in the Navy, 1853, built and building | 436 built<br>39 building | 73 |

## *Pay of Officers.*

| | | United Kingdom. | United States. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Admiral of the Fleet | Full pay | £2190 0 | £945 0 |
| „ „ | Half pay | 1150 0 | 735 0 |
| Admiral in Command | Full pay | 1825 0 | 840 0 |
| „ „ | Half pay | 776 0 | — |
| Captains | Full pay, highest class | 701 0 | 735 0 |
| „ „ | lowest class | 400 0 | |
| „ | Half pay, highest class | 264 0 | 525 0 |
| „ „ | lowest class | 191 0 | |
| Commanders | Full pay | 301 2 | 525 0 |
| „ | Half pay, to first 150 | 182 10 | 378 0 |
| „ „ | to remainder | 155 2 | |
| Lieutenants | Full pay, highest class | 200 15 | 378 0 |
| „ „ | lowest class | 182 10 | |
| „ | Half pay, highest class | 127 15 | 252 0 |
| „ „ | lowest class | 91 5 | |
| Surgeons | Full pay, highest class | 328 10 | 504 0 |
| „ „ | lowest class | 182 10 | 210 0 |
| „ | Half pay, highest class | 273 15 | 378 0 |
| „ „ | lowest class | 91 5 | — |
| As.-Surg. | Full pay, highest class | 165 15 | 252 0 |
| „ „ | lowest class | 129 5 | 199 10 |
| „ | Half pay, highest class | 91 5 | 178 10 |
| „ „ | lowest class | 36 [illegible] | 136 10 |
| Paymasters | Full pay, highest class | 500 [illegible] | 735 0 |
| „ „ | lowest class | 191 [illegible] | 315 0 |
| „ | Half pay, highest class | 127 15 | — |
| „ „ | lowest class | 91 5 | — |
| Passed Midshipmen | Full pay | 66 18 | 157 10 |
| „ „ | Half pay | | 126 0 |
| Midshipmen | Full pay | 31 18 | 84 0 |
| „ | Half pay | — | 63 0 |

| | | United Kingdom. | | United States. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Masters* | Full pay, high. class | 328 10 | . . . | 231 0 |
| „ | „ lowest class | 182 10 | . . . | 210 0 |
| „ | Half pay, high. class | 237 5 | . . . | 157 10 |
| „ | „ lowest class | 91 5 | | |
| Second Masters, | F. pay, high. class | 91 5 | . . . | 157 10 |
| „ | „ lowest class | 66 18 | . . . | 105 0 |
| „ | H. pay, high. class | 45 12 | . . . | 84 0 |
| „ | „ lowest class | | | |
| Warrt. Offrs. | Full pay, high. class | 120 2 | . . . | 168 0 |
| „ „ | „ lowest class | 86 13 | | |
| „ „ | Half pay, high. class | 101 17 | . . . | 126 0 |
| „ „ | „ lowest class | 63 17 | . . . | 105 0 |
| Chief Eng. | F. pay, high. class | 261 11 | . . . | 420 0 |
| „ | „ lowest class | 182 10 | . . . | 315 0 |
| „ | H. pay, high. class | 144 9 | . . . | 294 0 |
| „ | „ lowest class | 100 7 | . . . | 252 0 |

* Masters in the British Navy receive in addition the following store allowances:—first, second, and third rates, £73; fourth, fifth, and sixth rates, £48 13s.; sloops, £38.

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[a] RAILROAD AND RAILWAY.—Miles of railroad is the distance of country traversed: Railway, the miles of iron way laid down on those roads; the former is officially given in both countries, the latter I have calculated thus:—United States, 3266 miles of double railway—England, 7000 miles of double railway. This proportion I have received from a most competent authority. The impossibility of knowing the exact amount of railway laid down, may be imagined from the fact that there are two stations in this country, in one of which, a little under 20 miles is laid within the limits of the station, and in the other, more than 20 miles is laid down. While the extent of railway in England appears infinitely greater than in the United States, in proportion to its area, it must not be forgotten that the Republic has as many more miles in progress as those already completed.—*Vide* page 141, &c.

[b] TELEGRAPH.—In estimating the comparative work the two countries can perform, it should be remembered that the American telegraphs are all single wire and the British chiefly two wires, and that the relative proportion of work they are capable of performing is, single wire 3, two wires 5, *vide* page 154. Working from these data, we shall find that the total power of telegraphic communications in England is as 11, to the United States power of 7.

[c] IMPORTS.—The value of the imports to the United States is far below the true figure, in consequence of the system adopted by them of levying duties *ad valorem*.

[d] TONNAGE.—This Table is not of much value as a comparison between the tonnage of the two countries, inasmuch as various river boats and small craft are not included in the returns for this country, but it will nevertheless convey a tolerable idea of the relative progress made in the last quarter of a century. The number of ships in this country has increased from 19,151 in 1828, to 25,748 in 1853. The increase in the United States I have not been able to obtain.

[e] NATIONAL DEBT.—I have not given the amount in 1828, because the United States have in the interim very nearly wiped out all debt; it owes its present existence very essentially to the Mexican war, &c. In a money article in *The Times* of March, 1854, I find it stated that 'out of the Federal debt of the United States, amounting to £11,650,000, the amount held by foreigners was supposed to be £5,400,000; while of the stocks of the several States, amounting in the aggregate to £38,150,000, the estimated amount held by foreigners was £22,200,000. The returns in relation to city, railroad, and other stocks and bonds, which have not yet been furnished, will probably reach a much higher total.' The foregoing will show how greatly America is indebted to British and other capital for her prosperity. In an abstract of the capital subject to legacy duty in England, I find that in 1828 it amounted to £39,099,523; in 1851 it had risen to £51,835,620.

[f] DIPLOMACY.—Formerly, a minister received a year's salary as outfit, and half that sum as infit upon his return home. That system has been recently altered, and a larger annual salary substituted.

[g] LAW.—It is impossible to institute any comparison between the two countries in this respect, owing to the complex nature of the government in the United States, each State having its own judiciary. The salaries in the Table are those of the highest paid in each,—the Lord Chancellor in England, and the Attorney-General in the United States; the former has a retiring pension of £4000 a year.

[h] MILITARY.—It is impossible to find any exact parallel for the

highest grades in the two countries. Major-general being the highest rank in the United States, I have compared it with a full General in England. There are also additional allowances in the field before an enemy: but those minute details would be alike tedious and difficult of comparison. In the United States, the pay of the Artillery and the Line is the same; in England the Artillery is nearly the same as the Engineers. In the United States, Cavalry and Riflemen are paid alike; in England, Riflemen are paid the same as the Line. In the United States, a colonel of a regiment means what it says; in England it means a general officer, who, for distinguished services, or by distinguished favour, receives the appointment and pockets the £500 a year.

[1] NAVY.—There is a difficulty in instituting a comparison of the higher ranks, owing to the different appellations. The senior captain in the United States Navy is the highest paid officer, I therefore place his pay opposite to the admiral of the fleet. In the same manner I place the United States pay to a captain of squadron opposite the pay of an admiral in command. The table money allowed to admirals is not included. The captain's pay in the United States is uniform; as it varies in England with the rate of vessel which he commands, I have given the highest and the lowest in that and all similar cases. The Board which sat on the subject of naval pay were graciously pleased to allow the captains of small frigates £400 a year, 'as it was desirable they should entertain their officers at table.' The stupendous liberality which thus raised their pay to a par with the half-pay of a commander in the United States Navy deserves a grateful record. The number of ships is given in mass; their comparative efficiency would require long details to explain, but as far as I am capable of giving an opinion, I should say that about one-half of the United States Navy, and three-fourths of the British Navy, might be made available for war purposes.

The pay of our able seamen is £24 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, or if entered for continuous service, it is then £28 17*s.* 11*d.* In America it is regulated by the President, and fluctuates with the demands of the merchant service for seamen. At present (1855) it is upwards of £50 a year. The pay of the soldier in the United States has lately been raised, and is at present about £28 a year, besides being 'found;' in England it is £18 5*s.* a year, with the pleasure of finding himself in most things.

Independent of the difference of pay which exists between the privates and seamen in the United States and the same ranks in the British services, there is, as we have seen, a very considerable difference in the pay of the commissioned officers of the two nations. As far as the Navies are concerned, no further comparison is needed, inasmuch as the uniforms and messes in both cases are pretty much on a par as to expense. The champagne and hock mania with which the midshipman's berth of the Royal Navy was visited some years ago in the Mediterranean Fleet has long since subsided, and the officers of either Navy can live on their pay.

With regard to the armies, there is a marked difference in the two great items of expense, uniform and mess. The officer of the United States Army, like his brother officer on salt water, can cover all his expenses with his pay, as the uniform and living are both plain and moderate. In England it has long been a reproach, either to the army or to the nation, that the military officer, especially in the junior ranks, and more particularly in the cavalry, is absolutely unable to live upon his pay. The ridiculous expense of his uniform, the extravagance of his

mess, the subscription to band, &c., &c., render it indispensable that he should possess private funds to draw upon for his absolute necessities, on the top of all which must be added the capital requisite to purchase promotion, without which means he might enjoy the satisfaction of spending his sixtieth birthday as a jolly old senior lieutenant. The United States promotion is by seniority, and no advancement takes place from the ranks in time of peace. Their small numbers render the system of seniority practicable without much inconvenience. What steps we should take to prevent poverty being a bar to talent, either entering the service, or obtaining advancement when in it, I leave to those who understand the subject better than I can pretend to; and I must also hand over to the same authorities the consideration of the question, should the military officer's pay be raised, or should the expense of his uniform, mess, &c., be reduced?

I leave this nut with the public, and shall be delighted to find some one able to crack it.

EDUCATION.—The statistics on this subject in both countries are so complicated that it is nearly impossible to institute any comparison pretending to exactitude. In rough numbers, it may be asserted that the United States possess schooling for 4,000,000 out of a population of 23,000,000,[a] and the United Kingdom educates 3,000,000 out of a population of 27,000,000. The greater portion of the instruction in the States is higher than in this country; the number of girls educated at home in England is far greater than in America. In making the foregoing com-

[a] Of this number, 3,000,000 are slaves.

parison, which is so favourable to the Republic, the enormous extent of school lands, daily increasing in value, which, while costing the community nothing, are adding considerably to the school funds, should be borne in mind.

CHURCH.—Statistics of churches and sittings are also of a very complicated nature. I can therefore only give a rough total.

The United States churches are 36,000 in number, and their sittings 14,000,000. The churches of England and Scotland are 37,862 in number, and their sittings 12,500,000. I have no return for Ireland. By the above it will be seen that, for the same amount of population, Great Britain has more churches and fewer sittings than the United States; at the same time it must be remembered that in the Republic all is voluntary, whereas in Great Britain nearly one-half is State Church. In justice to my own country, it should be stated that upwards of 12,000 churches have been added between 1831 and 1851, of which 2,029 belong to the Establishment.

CHARITIES.—On this point it is so difficult to obtain any reliable information, that I have quite given up any attempt at a comparison; and moreover, the high price employers are compelled to give to their workmen renders distress so unnecessary—if I may use such a term—in the States, that no figures could convey any idea how far the necessities of the case were respectively met in the two countries. I merely allude to the subject in case any Republican should cast his eye over the page, and in order that he may know how ridiculous and barefaced are the falsehoods with which the rowdy portion of

the Press of his country caters to the morbid appetite of the transatlantic gulls who are brought up in the belief that hatred of the mother-country is one of the noblest aspirations of the Republican heart. The line of attack commonly taken is to set forth all the wealth and intelligence of England as united to grind down the poor, whom they are stated to treat worse than serfs, and for whose well-being they are said never to care.

Some idea of the ignorance or effrontery of the writers of such articles may be formed from the fact that there are 530 voluntary charities in the City of London alone, expending annually £1,800,000—a sum equal to one-seventh of the whole revenue of the United States; and this without taking any note of those many acts of minor charity which may fairly be supposed to flow from so benevolent a channel. Washington has been often termed the 'City of Magnificent Distances;' I beg permission to christen London the 'City of Munificent Charities.'

THE END.